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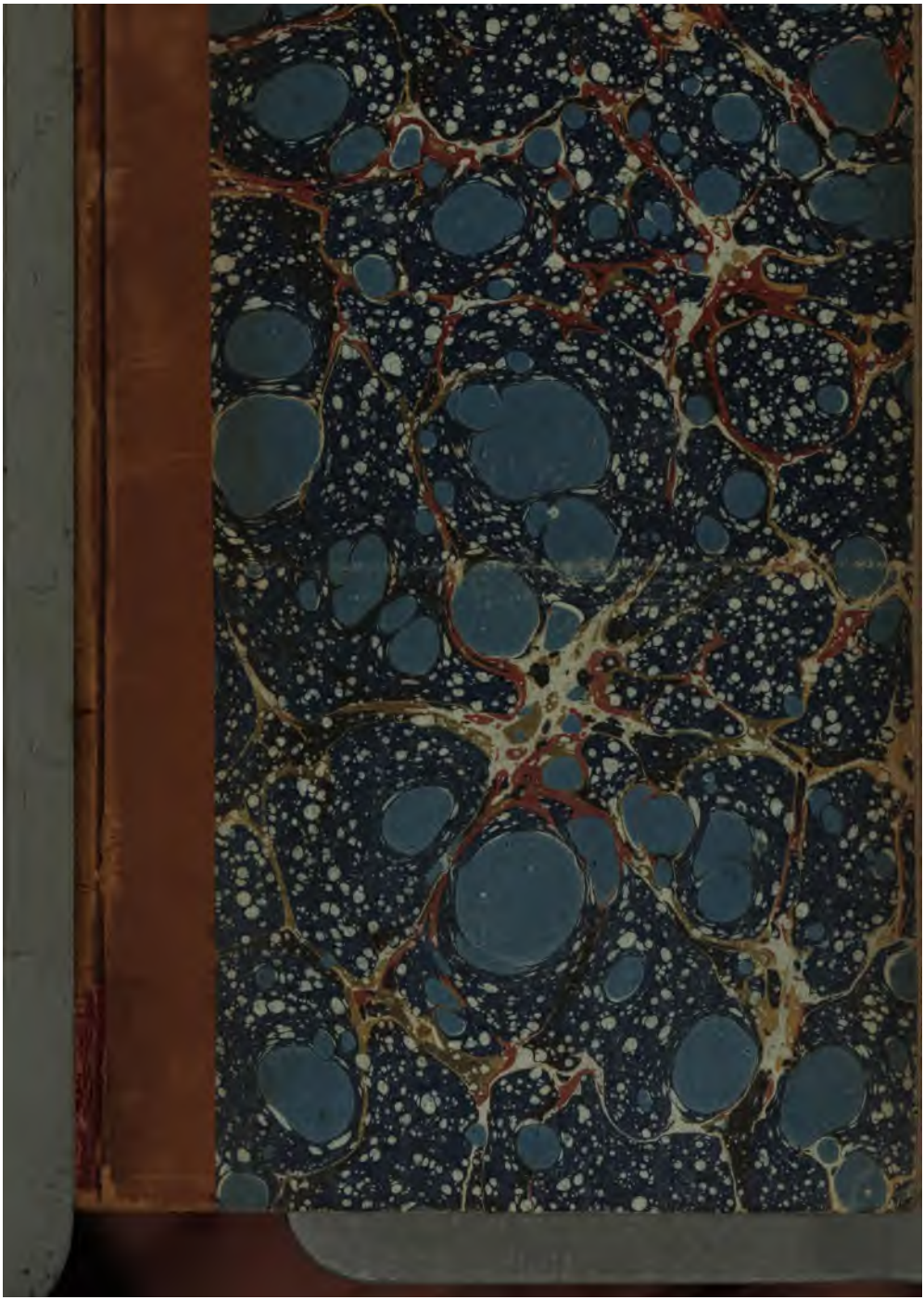

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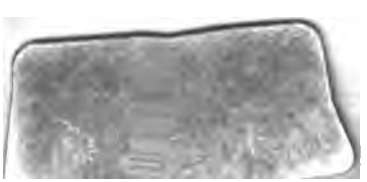

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Thy real friend

James Logan

MEMOIRS

OF

JAMES LOGAN;

A DISTINGUISHED SCHOLAR

AND

CHRISTIAN LEGISLATOR;

FOUNDER OF THE LOGANIAN LIBRARY AT PHILADELPHIA; SECRETARY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA; CHIEF JUSTICE; COMMISSIONER OF PROPERTY; AND (AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL) FOR TWO YEARS GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE.

INCLUDING SEVERAL OF

His Letters and those of his Correspondents,

MANY OF WHICH ARE

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS. COLLATED AND ARRANGED FOR THE PURPOSE;

By WILSON ARMISTEAD.

FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT CŒLUM.

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PREFACE.

No end has yet been found to the making of books, not only upon new, but upon old subjects; and perhaps at no time more than the present, has the disposition to write, and to rewrite history and biography, been more active. Publications having reference to the Society of Friends, their principles, and their distinguished men, have multiplied of late; and although in many respects much more candid and satisfactory than former works, some errors are continued in them and propagated, even by writers of reputation, to the present day.

Probably few public characters have suffered more from attempts to tarnish their posthumous fame in the minds of posterity than William Penn, the proprietor and founder of the province of Pennsylvania. The emanation, from highly respectable quarters, of misrepresentations and insinuations highly prejudicial to the character of a man so great and good, is much to be regretted. Yet, in the ordering of Divine Providence, 'all things work together for good,' and these aspersions may have had, in some instances the opposite effect to that intended. I doubt not they have induced others, as they have the compiler, to institute closer search into the history and real character of the defamed, and to ascertain how far assertions or insinuations are borne out by fact. If the whole case be examined into with an eye of impartial investigation, some of the charges made will be found to consist of gross misrepresentations, whilst other points of attack are quite untenable.

It was a noble, self-sacrificing spirit, to say the least of it, on the part of Penn, to renounce a splendid career of worldly honour and exalted rank, to spend a large portion of his life and energies, and the whole of a rich inheritance, to found a great asylum in the wilderness for the poor and oppressed of all nations, where every one might worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, whilst he himself was reduced to poverty and a prison.

The confidential letters passed between William Penn, and his secretary James Logan, evince throughout an earnest desire, on the part of the former, for the best welfare of his infant colony. Perhaps no more effectual method could be adopted for exploding error and misrepresentations, than bringing to light the contemporary evidences, which have been suffered too much to slumber in darkness; no one having yet taken the pains to bring them forth to tell their tale of the past to the present generation, and throw a little gleam of light into the obscure shades of bygone days.

Had some of the facts which are developed in the MS. proprietary correspondence been more generally known, there can be no doubt that several misrepresentations, in relation to the acts and motives of William Penn and the Friends of Pennsylvania, handed down from old opponents, reiterated by writers on the history of the province, and recently revived under cover of high authority, might have been prevented.

To do this is no part of my present intention, further than to illustrate the character of one who occupied a prominent station in the early history of Pennsylvania, and who conducted himself with such becoming propriety as a Christian legislator. Of all the associates of William Penn in the administration of his colonial government, James Logan ever proved his most faithful and confidential friend. It is to the latter especially that the following pages are intended to refer; and it is hoped that some justice, though tardy, may at length be awarded to one whose character is so well worthy of being preserved from oblivion—

not only for his learning, but for his ability in conducting some of the most arduous offices in the Government of Pennsylvania, at a time when such men were of immense value.

In no instance did William Penn manifest his own discernment and tact for business more, than when, at great pains, he persuaded James Logan to accompany him to his new Province, and take part in the administration; and a most pleasing trait in the character of the latter was his upright conduct in the absence of Penn from the Colony, and at all other times in defending him from the encroachments of those who ought, in justice and gratitude, to have been among the foremost to support him.

James Logan was certainly one of the best and most learned of the whole number of the early emigrants to the American continent, and he became one of the greatest benefactors of Pennsylvania. Besides being appointed Secretary to the Province, he filled, with great ability and integrity, the offices of Commissioner of Property, Chief Justice, and for nearly two years, that of Governor of the Province, as Secretary of the Council. His intellect was powerful, and his acquirements considerable, being well versed in ancient and modern learning, acquainted with the Oriental tongues, and master of the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian languages. He was deeply skilled in the mathematics, and in natural and moral philosophy, and was the author of several works in Latin and English. He was a great patron of learning, held an extensive correspondence with the literati of Europe, and, at his death, he bequeathed a library of 3000 volumes as a legacy to his countrymen, consisting of the best works in various languages, arts, and sciences; a splendid and durable monument of his munificence, and of his attachment to Pennsylvania.

Whilst greatly distinguished for learning, James Logan was a man of sterling integrity, a worthy and consistent Friend, preserving, through life a character for strict piety and uprightness. He was the intimate friend and correspondent of

Thomas Story, a distinguished minister amongst Friends. Some of the letters passed between them are now first printed in the following pages from the original MSS., collated and arranged for that purpose, including several to and from William Penn, his widow Hannah Penn, and others, the compilation of which has involved the perusal of a considerable number of papers and private correspondence. For several letters and incidental remarks, I am indebted to the pages of two volumes of the *Philadelphia Friend,* containing selections from the proprietary letters preserved in MS. at Stenton. Thomas Thompson, of Liverpool, I have to thank for the use of a MS. correspondence between Thomas Story and James Logan; and Thomas Wise, jun., of Bayswater, for important references.

In conclusion, I wish to draw the reader's attention to some religious reflections addressed by James Logan *'to himself,'* which, from their intrinsic excellence, I have made the conclusion of these pages. They are replete with instruction, and bear ample and beautiful testimony that the writer was a man of eminent piety.

W. A.

Leeds, 1851.

MEMOIRS OF JAMES LOGAN.

JAMES LOGAN was descended from a family who, according to history, were for many years distinguished in Scotland, and of which there are many interesting facts connected with its antiquity and distinction. It appears from the *Scotsman's Library*, and the *Memoirs of the Somervilles*, that the name of Logan is one of those derived from locality, and hence deemed the more honourable. It occurs in Scotch history at the early period of William the Lion; and throughout subsequent ages is connected with important national transactions. The chief Logan was Baron of Restalrig, and this house was connected, by various intermarriages, with most of the noble families in the kingdom, and even with royalty itself; one of them having married a daughter of Robert II., who granted him the lands of Grugar, by a charter addressed '*Militi dilecto fratri suo.*'

Several interesting particlars are recorded in the history of this unfortunate and redoubtable clan. In 1329, when that solemn embassy was undertaken, in compliance with the death-bed request of the great king, Robert Bruce—that his heart might be taken to the holy sepulchre—Sir Robert Logan and Sir Walter Logan were the chief associates of Sir James Douglas in that illustrious band which comprised the flower of Scotch chivalry. The fatal termination of this mission under the walls of Grenada, where an excess of heroism led them to battle with the Moors, finished in martial glory the career of most of the troop; and, in attempting the rescue of their friend, the Lord Sinclair, the Logans fell in the thickest of the fight.

Some centuries ago, the Scotch navy was able to cope with that of England; and, in 1400, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, Lord Admiral of Scotland, defeated an English fleet in the Firth of Forth. On the return of King James I. from his captivity in England, he knighted the Laird of Restalrig, and made him Sheriff Principal of Edinburgh. Another Logan was invested Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1520, an honour which he well merited. In 1555, Mary of Lorraine, intending to erect Leith into a royal burgh, purchased the superiority from Logan; but, being dethroned, the town council of Edinburgh, who were jealous of its rising importance, took possession of it by an armed force, and claim to this day the superiority.

Sir Robert Logan, Baron of Restalrig, who married a daughter of Lord John Somerville, was the owner of Fast Castle, on the borders of the German Ocean, in Scotland, and was connected with the troubles of that country occasioned by the affair of the Earl of Gowrie. The strange and illegal accusation of Baron Logan, in 1608, eight years after his death, for an alleged participation in the 'Gowrie conspiracy,' and the singular trial of his mouldering remains, are amongst the most mysterious transactions of King James's reign. The sentence of 'Guilty' threw his forfeited estates into the hands of the Earl of Dunbar, and extinguished a large debt which Balmerino owed to the family. The proscription of the name of Sprot, the only accuser, who was hanged for his perjury, was the last act of this tragedy.

The reduced circumstances of the Logans, consequent upon the confiscation of their estates, which were considerable, induced the sons of the unfortunate Baron to leave the country, and they fixed their residence at Lurgan, in Ireland. Robert, the younger son, subsequently returned to Scotland, where he settled. His son, Patrick Logan, was educated for a clergyman, receiving the benefit of a good education in the university of Edinburgh, where he received the degree of Master of Arts. But, though educated for the 'church,' and having served some time as a chaplain, he relinquished his clerical profession and returned to Ireland, where he afterwards joined in religious

society with the Quakers. Before he left Scotland, Patrick Logan married Isabel Hume, a lady of distinction by birth and connections, her family being related to the Laird of Dundas and the Earl of Panmure.

Patrick Logan had several children, but none of them lived long, except William (who settled at Bristol, and became an eminent physician there) and James, whose history we are now about to trace.

James Logan, son of Patrick and Isabel Logan, and great-grandson to Sir Robert Logan, the Baron of Restalrig, was born at Lurgan, in Ireland, in 1674 or 1675. Being endowed with a good genius, and favoured with a suitable education, he made considerable proficiency in divers branches of learning, and eventually became a polite scholar and magistrate of some eminence in America. His abilities must have been early apparent, for he speaks of having attained the Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew before he was thirteen years of age; and also that, in his sixteenth year, having met with a book of Laybourn's on mathematics, he made himself master of that science without any manner of instruction. He had been put apprentice to a considerable linen-draper in Dublin, but the Prince of Orange landing, and the war in Ireland coming on before he was bound, he was returned to his parents, and went over with them first to Edinburgh, and then to London and Bristol. Here, he says, whilst employed in instructing others, he improved himself in Greek and Hebrew. He also learned French, Italian, and some Spanish; and he notices that he went three months to a French master to learn the pronunciation, without which he was sensible he should never be able to speak it. And this, he says, was the only money he ever paid for instruction in that language.

In 1698, James Logan had a prospect of engaging in trade between Dublin and Bristol, and had commenced it with good promise of success; but, in the spring of 1699, he was solicited by William Penn to accompany him to his newly-founded colony in America, to act as his secretary there. He submitted this offer to his friends, who did not unite in their judgment. He decided himself to accept the proposal of the

Governor; and, accordingly, sailed with Penn to America, in the *Canterbury*, in the 7th Month (September), 1699.

Their voyage, though prosperous on the whole, was a tedious one, for they were nearly three months at sea, not arriving at Philadelphia till the beginning of the 10th Month (December) following. The length of time thus consumed appeared to Penn and his company a providential preservation from the dangers of the yellow fever, which had been raging in the city, proving a time of great mortality. The sickness was over before they arrived.

On landing at Philadelphia, the Proprietor was received with the universal joy of the inhabitants, who rejoiced in his well-known purpose of spending the remainder of his days among his people. That it was his intention to make a permanent residence in America, there can be no doubt; and, when he sailed from England, he had taken leave, accordingly, of his Friends in Europe, by addressing to them an epistle of farewell, dated from Cowes Road, Isle of Wight, the 3d of the 7th Month, 1699.

The presence of the Proprietor at Philadelphia, during the remainder of his life, might have been productive of results not very easy for us now to appreciate. That the interests of *religion*, considered as a means appointed by the all-wise God for the moral improvement of his creatures, and the subordinate *civil* welfare of his province, would have been essentially promoted by his administration, there is every reason to believe. Nor can it be admitted that those of the mother country would, in any respect or degree, have been deteriorated; war alone (that pest and scourge of the human race) being left out of the question. But the time was not come, nor did the world appear ripe enough as yet, for the full trial of the experiment of a pacific policy, administered in the spirit of the gospel of Christ. The working mind of this truly great man had done much, but the fruit was to remain for the generations following; he himself was prevented from seeing it with his own eyes.

It was the selfish and jealous policy of Government at home not to suffer these proprietary governments to grow too considerable; but, as soon as it became worth the change, to

invade them, under pretence of advancing the prerogative, and conferring security on the colonies, and get them annexed to the Crown. And no sooner had Penn returned to his province, than machinations to this effect followed the vexations on account of his religious profession, to which he had been before subjected. So adverse to the proprietary interest did the aspect of affairs in England become, that he was obliged reluctantly to forego his long-cherished design of settling down in America. His speedy return became more and more urgent, and, in less than two years after his arrival, he was on his way home.

It was in 1701 that the Proprietor left his colony for England, the second, and, as it proved, the last time; a circumstance which, notwithstanding what some writers are pleased to assert,* was quite contrary to the intent and earnest desire of his heart; for he had fully resolved, Providence permitting, to plant his family there, and to devote the remainder of his days to the superintendence, on the spot, of that 'holy experiment,' which was to exhibit to mankind the first example of a government founded and conducted in consonance with the benign spirit of Christianity.

In his speech to the Assembly, September 16, 1701, Penn assigns his reasons for quitting them, and proceeds thus:—

* Grahame repeats, though in milder terms than his predecessors, the old aspersion, that Penn, after he left Pennsylvania, 'abandoned all thoughts of returning,' preferring 'the courtly shades of Kensington to the wild woods of Pennsylvania.' The compiler is fully prepared to assert the falsehood of the oft-repeated aspersion, that Penn, having grown tired of the rude life of a colonist, forsook his people, with the intention of never returning to them, liking better the ease and luxurious enjoyment to be found near the person of his royal master. The degree of ease and luxurious enjoyment to which he attained in England is fully set forth in his *Life and Correspondence;* importunate and extortionate pecuniary demands, a purse exhausted by his liberality to the colonists and bounty to the Indians, and, at length, a prison—these were the luxuries to which he attained; and from which, not finding them so comfortable to the flesh as some writers might be supposed to imagine, he could easily have extricated himself, had he really designed the abandonment of his people, and have placed himself in affluence, besides escaping a heavy load of care, while it yielded him no worldly advantage. The confidential letters of Penn to his secretary evince an earnest desire, indeed, a fixed determination, to fly from the precincts of a corrupt court to the sweet solitudes of Pennsylvania, whenever he felt that he could disengage himself without injury to the welfare of the colony.

'Government having been our first encouragement, I confess I cannot think of such a voyage without great reluctancy of mind, *having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness*, and that I might stay so long, at least, with you as to render everybody entirely easy and safe. For my heart is among you as well as my body, whatever some may think; *and no unkindness or disappointment* shall (with submission to God's providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return, and settle my family and posterity in it.'

Previous to embarking for England, knowing how difficult it would be to find a deputy capable of giving satisfaction to all parties, and intending also, by an unprecedented act of confidence, to express his affection for the people, and his sincere desire for their accommodation and well-being, Penn formally offered to confer upon the Assembly the power of choosing his deputy. He also chartered the city of Philadelphia, now become a considerable place, and left by him in a flourishing condition.*

Although at this time James Logan was only a young man of about five and twenty, he had won the confidence of William Penn, and had been invested with many important offices. He was not only appointed as Secretary to the province, but had received a general charge both of the government and property. In a letter to him from the Proprietor, when about sailing for England, he thus addresses him:—'I have left thee in an uncommon trust, with a singular dependence on thy justice and care, which I expect thou wilt faithfully employ in advancing my honest interest.'

After desiring Logan to use his utmost endeavours in various particulars, he concludes—

'For thy own services, I shall allow thee what is just and reasonable, either by commission or a salary. But my dependence is on thy care and honesty. Serve me faithfully, as thou expects a blessing from God, or my favour, and I shall support thee to the utmost, as thy true friend,

'WILLIAM PENN.

'*Ship Dolmahoy*, 8*d* 9*ber*, 1701.'

* Proud.

The entire confidence the Proprietor of Pennsylvania reposed in his Secretary, may also be gathered from the following extract from a letter addressed to him, dated 24th of 12th month, 1702:—

'I know thy ability, I doubt not thy integrity, I desire thy application and health, and, above all, thy growth in the feeling of the power of truth; for that fits and helps us, above all other things, even in the business of this world—clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform. WILLIAM PENN.'

The discernment of the Proprietor was not misplaced in the confidence reposed in James Logan, who, in time, fell into the general management of the whole of Penn's business, which he discharged with singular fidelity and judgment. After several years' residence in Philadelphia, he married Sarah Reed, sister to the wife of the elder Israel Pemberton. They had four children, and their descendants became connected, by marriage, with some of the most eminent families among Friends in Pennsylvania. His life became more and more employed in public affairs. He was long chief justice of the state, and continued to hold the offices of provincial secretary and commissioner of property; and for nearly two years governed the province as president of the council. The latter office he was solicited to resume at a later period. The department allotted him in the time of the governors Evans and Gookin, exposed him to much altercation with David Lloyd, then at the head of the assembly as speaker, and a large number that joined him. Logan throughout adhered to what he deemed to be the proprietary interest, exerting himself invariably as the devoted and confidential friend of the Penn family. The contentions in which he was involved with the different assemblies, in espousing the cause of William Penn against unreasonable encroachments, his unyielding integrity, his erudition and patriotism, are matters of history.

No sooner had Penn turned his back on his colony, to plead its rights, and to maintain for the people, at a great expense to himself, their full extent of privileges, than circumstances

occurred amongst the colonists which soon involved him in unlooked-for difficulties. It is not our province to enter into the detail of these, or of the acts of those ungrateful men who opposed his interests and that of the colony, and who can now only be held up as examples of the perverse spirit which obstructed the noble designs of Penn at every step. As is too often the lot of benefactors of their race, his portion was ingratitude from the recipients of his bounty, and poverty for the wealth which his liberal policy had directed to their coffers. They suffered him to incur ruinous expenses in contests he was continually waging, with opposing and powerful interests, in defence of their privileges; or doled out, with a niggardly and complaining hand, that which his remonstrances were able to extort from them.

Of course there were honourable exceptions, but this treatment was so general, that he was often driven to extremities, and finally to a prison, loaded with burdens which he was no longer able to support. Then, and not till then, could the most prosperous colony in America—indebted to him for her unrivalled prosperity, and for whose sake he suffered this wrong—be induced to lend him any effectual aid. One of the heaviest charges he had to encounter, was the enormous fees needful to procure the royal confirmation of laws passed by the Colonial Assembly. In one case he mentions a single payment, on this account, of £2000 sterling. To procure the means of meeting such expenses, he often, in his letters to his secretary Logan, urged him for remittances with an earnestness which, without this explanation, might seem inconsistent with his religious profession; and it justifies his indignant expression in reference to the Assembly, which, while it neglected to furnish him with supplies, basely reproached him with delays—the necessary consequence of their parsimony.

Had not Penn, in his long negotiation with the Crown, steadily insisted upon the continued protection of the Society of Friends, in the privileges which he had gained for them, he might readily, for an ample sum, have divested himself of the perplexities of government, and freed himself from the load of debt which oppressed him. Though his secretary earnestly

urged him, for his own ease, to sell the government, it will appear hereafter that he only refrained from doing so, and thus at once ridding himself of endless anxiety and vexation, by his willingness to suffer for the true-hearted in his colony.

The year 1701 put a period to the life of King James. He was succeeded by William III., whose health, however, had been some time declining, and a fall from his horse hastened his dissolution. He died in 1702. The princess Anne, his successor, being now seated on the throne, William Penn was received into favour, and was often at Court. Here he used his influence in procuring relief for his brethren, the Quakers, suffering imprisonment and persecution in England; and, according to Croese, the historian, thousands of applicants thronged his door continually.

But the favour and protection Penn received at Court appears to have contributed little strength to his Transatlantic Government, nor security to his personal property at home, though it appeared to be the only way by which he could now be defended against the open assaults of envious and implacable spirits, which he bore with exemplary patience.

In a letter to him, dated Philadelphia, 8th month, 27th, 1704, James Logan makes the following conclusory remarks:—

'So that if thou canst bear and support all the heavy charges of government, both there and here, without any consideration, and suffer wounds from such ungrateful men to be repeated against thee without redressing thyself, if in thy power, it will appear a patience something above human.

'Thy friends are deeply grieved at these proceedings, and sympathize with thee. Nay, more, Joseph Growden declares his abhorrence of them, and their proceedings against thee.

'That Almighty being, who has always stood by thee, will, I hope, support thee over it all for his own glory; and thy happiness is most heartily desired by thy dutiful and affectionate, 'JAMES LOGAN.'

Contentions among opposing colonists increasing, the Proprietor became more deeply involved in difficulties, to extricate

himself from which, James Logan continued earnestly to advise him to disengage himself from the colonial government of Pennsylvania, by surrendering the province back to the Crown. Though he very reluctantly brought his mind to yield to the falling back upon such an expedient for relieving himself, necessity compelled him at length to acquiesce in the proposition of his secretary.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM JAMES LOGAN TO WM. PENN.

'*Philadelphia, 5th Month, 25th*, 1706.

'As it has always been my opinion that nothing concerned thee more than to find a method of discharging thy incumbrances, and it has generally (I believe I may say always) been my thought that it is not worth thy while to undergo the fatigues the government gives, for all the advantages it is attended with, so by confounding these two opinions, I am sure it never entered me, but that it was altogether advisable to sell the government at least. In [a previous] letter I told thee the Assembly rather desire thou should keep it; and it is certainly true, that were I firmly settled in this place, and had nothing but my own interest to regard, I would rather that thou should keep the government, and allow me still to be secretary, or fill some better post; and so thinks the Assembly. No wonder if thy wholly-made-up friends would not rather enjoy places of trust and credit, and live easily under thy administration, than run the risk of hazarding such enjoyments by a change—the effects in all state affairs being uncertain—and they, being the representatives of the people, think for them and themselves in this point, not for thee. They desire not to see a change. Nay, very few of thy greatest enemies desire to see it, for they well know they live easier now than they can hereafter.

'But what is this to the discharging of thy burthens? I have largely shown thee that I can see no other way to make thee easy, than to sell; and when I write so, I do it purely in regard to thy circumstances, and nobody's else—my own as little as any man's. But if there should be anything (as I am confident there is not) that can come in competition with solid arguments—a case stated, and brought to the balance, with the

weights on each scale calculated and compared—which I endeavoured in a slender measure to perform; after this, I should think no man's opinion ought to weigh much, as to determining thy thoughts, unless it be that you can discover an error in the computation. If after this I should ever so much alter my advice, it would be of no importance, unless I at the same time demonstrated the nature of the thing to be otherwise than was at first laid down.

'Reasoning seems to me to be the art of comparing things rightly, and judgment to consist in the skill of preferring the most valuable; and I am so great an admirer of algebra—which is wholly employed in discovering equations—that I take it to be the best rule to be transferred to the conduct of life. So that I think I have said full enough upon that head, and thou may assure thyself, I neither have, nor ever can, change my opinion, that thy debts must be discharged, and that the only way that I can see for it is to obtain a consideration from the Crown for the government. If thou canst receive such a sum as has been mentioned, thou wilt receive a thing of great value for another of a very small one, which is accounted good marketing. On the other hand, if thou didst not want money or could have it another way, without damage to thyself—as I believe thou canst not—I look upon thy holding or parting with the government to be a thing almost in *æquilibrio;* but rather (as thou stands in favour) to preponderate on the side of holding it. And sometimes I am more of this opinion, sometimes less, according as the scale is made lighter or heavier, by our circumstances or administration. If my sentiments in that particular seem to vary, it is no more to be wondered at, than that the same person here, in winter, can scarcely get clothing thick enough, or in summer thin enough; or that the sailor crowds sail sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. It is owing to no inconsistency in the person, but to causes out of his power, to which he must accommodate.

'I thought if I stated the case, and furnished the materials to judge by, it would be both better manners, and more prudent, to stop there, than to proceed to advise. Those

historians are often most approved, that barely relate the matter, with all circumstances that can furnish out a judgment, and then leave that to the readers themselves. But I was commanded to give my opinion, and therefore did it; yet would rather choose to see the government sold (though I desire to see it done for thy interest, but against both my own and that of many friends), upon any other person's advice than mine. It is a point I am loth to advise in, as I would be in a case of marriage; but I have done it, and I think steadily.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

In a subsequent letter, James Logan writes:—

'THOU wilt really find it impossible to hold the government upon any terms that will either be for thy interest or satisfaction, except there happens some very great revolution in the temper of the people and administration.'

JAMES LOGAN TO WM. PENN.

[The following letter was forwarded by Isaac Norris, who visited England in 1706. He was a worthy member of the Society of Friends, and one of the earliest settlers in Philadelphia, where he obtained great influence as a member of the council, the assembly, &c. He was originally a respectable merchant in Jamaica.]

'*10th Month, 6th*, 1706.

'THIS being intended [to be sent] by Isaac Norris, I shall be brief upon many heads, because he will be very capable of giving thee fuller light by discourse, if thou canst engage him into the humour of it. But he is of himself cautious and reserved upon such heads, and therefore must be brought to it by proper methods; the readiest of which I conceive to be, is to waive all expatiating upon general subjects relating to the province; as what it has cost thee, the unkindness of the people, &c.; but showing a great deal of confidence in him, and satisfaction in meeting so able a friend (for he is a man of business), thence descend into particulars, and for some time lead him upon the subject of my letters, and then, I believe, he will be open and free. But he is not to have formal ques-

tions put to him; for his recourse would then be immediately to his modesty—he would plead inability, and this, through no want of good will, but real diffidence of himself. It is certain I value his judgment far above any man's in this government (except Samuel Carpenter*), and he is, doubtless, one of the most excellent of men. Yet he will not believe himself, but that if he has good thoughts at any time, they are present iradiations, rather than a general way of good thinking. I am sensible he is like all other men, often indisposed that way, but I never yet could have his thoughts, but I took them to be very good. I doubt not but thou wilt find him exceedingly serviceable. I am larger upon this, because I know him perhaps the best of any man in the province, as far as I am capable of judging, and love him accordingly.

'As to the government, Isaac will be capable of giving thee a sufficient account of it, and of the temper of the people—the corporation especially—which is too much of an '*imperium in imperio*' for so young a place. They are drawing up a new charter, to get thee to sign there; but I expect no sight of it. Had I earlier notice of it, I would have sent thee a copy of the present one, that thou might compare them; for I do not remember that I ever sent one, but I will move Thomas Story to send. He was appointed by them, with David Lloyd, to write to thee, but has no *penchant* that way. He is really in thy interest at the bottom, and, I believe, detests all manner of practices against thee. He and I are very good friends, and so I hope to continue. He will be very serviceable to thee, in opposing anything to thy disadvantage in the corporation, and his alliance with Edward Shippen's family will be particularly useful.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

Governor Hamilton being deceased, John Evans came out

* Samuel Carpenter was one of the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania. He became probably the wealthiest trader in the province, and was one of the greatest improvers and builders in Philadelphia. He filled the offices of treasurer and commissioner of property. His great abilities, combined with a benevolent and active disposition, rendered him a useful and valuable member of civil and religious society; and he appears to have been highly esteemed among the Quakers, to whom he belonged.

to the province as his successor. Governor Evans was young and proved inexperienced. He treated the non-resisting principle 'as a mere notion, which would never endure a serious trial.' He not only granted a commission for privateering, but in 1706, finding Friends very averse to military requisitions, he determined to quicken them by a false alarm, of a hostile armament coming up the river. His measures were so well concerted for this purpose, that upon the arival of the express bringing the pretended intelligence, the city was thrown into a disgraceful state of alarm; many of the people hastily secreting their valuables, and getting away in boats to the creeks and upper parts of the Delaware, while Evans rode about with his sword drawn, cheaply acting the hero.

Governor Evans also determined, on his own authority, to impose a tax or toll on all outward-bound vessels when leaving the river. The principal inhabitants became alarmed at this innovation of their chartered privileges, which guaranteed that no tax or other impost should be levied but by consent of a majority of the people's representatives. The council remonstrated again and again, but without effect; and the Governor, being determined to carry his point, ordered a fort to be erected on the banks of the river, and furnished with guns and ammunition. An officer and some men were stationed there to stop every vessel outward-bound, and to claim a toll according to her tonnage. The toll exacted was *half a pound of gunpowder per ton measurement.* Should the ship not drop anchor and send on shore for a pass, she was to pay £5 for contempt; besides 20*s.* for the first gun, 30*s.* for the second, and 40*s.* for every subsequent one fired to bring her to.

After this had been endured for a while, and all remonstrace on the part of the peaceful community proving ineffectual, a consultation of some of the principal merchants was held, when Richard Hill,* a Friend of considerable abilities and

* Richard Hill was a native of Maryland, and a useful member of the Society of Friends. He settled in Philadelphia, and was twenty-five years a member of the Governor's council, and several times Speaker of the Assembly. He also filled the office of Commissioner of Property, and was, for the last ten years of his life, one of the provincial judges. Proud, in his *History of Pennsylvania*, says respecting him:—'His sound judgment, his great esteem for

influence in the province, offered at his own risk to test the governor's power or authority to tax the people without their consent. Having a ship ready to sail with produce for the West India market, with which a considerable barter-trade was already established, Hill determined to see his vessel safely down the river himself. He first dispatched two Friends, Isaac Norris and Samuel Preston with the ship's papers to the fort, to show that the vessel had been regularly cleared at the custom-house, and to endeavour to persuade the officer to suffer her to pass without molestation. Their remonstrance, however, proved unavailing, and the deputation were given to understand what they might expect if they persisted in their determination. Notwithstanding this threat, Hill boldly taking the helm, which the captain was afraid to do, proceeded with a fair wind and a brisk breeze down the river, steering as near to the opposite side as he safely could. On nearing the fort, a gun was fired to bring the vessel to. No notice was taken of this warning, the ship continuing her course under full sail, when all the guns at the fort were discharged, until she got out of their reach, having escaped without damage, except the main-sail, which was shot through.* The officer at the fort, not willing to miss his prize, immediately had his boat manned and went in pursuit. The ship's sails were now slackened, and the boat was allowed to come alongside, and having fastened a rope to the ship, the officer and his men came on board. Whilst engaged in a warm controversy with the owner and his friends, some one on board (no doubt advisedly) quietly loosed the boat and let her drift astern. The ship was now under full sail, and when the officer at length discovered that he was in danger of a voyage to the West Indies, and that all his hopes of retreat were cut off, his courage failed, and he

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the English constitution and laws, his tenderness for the liberty of the subject, and his zeal for preserving the reputable order established in his own religious community, with his great generosity to proper objects, qualified him for the greatest services in every station in which he was engaged, and rendered him of very great and uncommon value.'

* The firing of the guns were distinctly heard in Philadelphia, so that the feelings of the Friend's wife on the occasion may be better conceived than expressed.

suffered himself to be led as a prisoner into the cabin. Richard Hill now determined to land his captive on the Jersey side of the Delaware, and deliver him up to Lord Cornbury, the governor of that province, who claimed in his own right the exclusive jurisdiction of the river. Cornbury, a proud and haughty man, on hearing the case, was quite indignant at this encroachment on his prerogative, and he threatened the officer in no measured terms of rebuke, who now became seriously alarmed at his situation, and sued for pardon, making many professions of sorrow for the offence he had committed. At length, having promised never to attempt the like again, he was suffered to depart. The Friend and his companions now returned back to Philadelphia, and the ship proceeded on her voyage. The illegal tax, in consequence of this patriotic but peaceful resistance, was thenceforward abandoned.

The untoward circumstances just related are alluded to in the following letter from

JAMES LOGAN TO WILILAM PENN.

'HONOURED GOVERNOR,—Inclosed are copies of my last, and of the Newcastle act for a fort, &c., which I have frequently intimated to be of dangerous consequences, especially on account of powder-money, and obliging our vessels [to carry it], which now hath fully appeared.

'It has been highly resented by the traders here; but the winter obstructing navigation in general, and the act not being in force so as to affect us, until the lieutenant-governor took a journey to New York, to bring Captain Rednass, the Queen's engineer for this main, to lay out the fort. This he did so privately, that I knew nothing of his business there till the said engineer came to town. He then gave orders to demand powder-money of all vessels that were liable to pay, and accordingly it was executed with rigour.

'This giving great umbrage to our traders, they were resolved to withstand it; and divers owners gave their captains orders not to comply. Richard Hill and Samuel Preston, particularly, to their master of a very fine new sloop, called the *Philadelphia*, bound on her first voyage to Barbadoes. The governor had

been at Newcastle about a week, superintending the work, to carry it on more vigorously; but returning to Philadelphia about the time of the said vessel's sailing, she was cleared duly at the office, and had also the governor's letter-pass. The captain went to wait on the governor, who ordered him without fail to call at Newcastle. But he acquainted the governor that his owners had directed him to the contrary. The governor threatened him severely, telling him he would fire at his vessel, and cast him into prison, if he refused. The captain presently acquainted Richard Hill, the principal owner, of this, who, being extremely disturbed at it, hastened directly to the governor, and, meeting him in the street near the coffee-house, spoke to him there with great freedom upon it; telling him they expected his protection in prosecuting their lawful trade, and not to be threatened with destruction unless they would comply with the imposition of a pretended law that could not affect them, or to this import. Next day the governor took horse again for Newcastle, and the vessel being ready to sail, Richard Hill was resolved to go down in her and stand the trial, and take with him Samuel Preston and William Fishbourne,* two other owners. I knew nothing of this design till the governor was gone, and therefore could not speak to him about it in time; but in the afternoon I wrote him a letter, of which I here send a copy, and sent it by an express hired on purpose, who delivered it into his own hands before the sloop came in sight. But this had not the desired effect. The governor was exasperated at Richard Hill's warmth to him; and, it is affirmed, they set a watch of ten men all the night after his arrival there, to watch least the vessel should pass by unobserved. For what followed, I choose to refer to the depositions taken before Lord Cornbury, of which copies are also enclosed, and shall only tell thee that Richard Hill, after they had happily escaped the great shot at Newcastle, and disappointed J. French, who had boarded him, perceiving he was hotly pursued by several other boats, on board of one of which

* William Fishbourne, a worthy Friend, was a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania, for Philadelphia, in 1716 and subsequent years.

was the governor, he was then apprehensive of mischief; but not knowing what it was to yield, thought it most advisable to put over to Salem.

'Next day I went to Colonel Quarry, and discoursed with him largely upon it. On the third, Lord Cornbury came to town; I waited upon him, and had a conference with him for about an hour. I entered fully into the matter, and protested in thy name and behalf against these proceedings, as being not only against thy inclination, but evasive of thy rights. I found he had resented the matter to our governor, and will resent it home to the lords of trade. He gave me all possible assurances that he would have a very tender regard to thee, and never do anything to hurt thee, &c. I treat Colonel Quarry with confidence on thy behalf, letting him know I have the greatest dependence upon his honour and good will to thee; of which he gives me the deepest assurances, and promises I shall never be disappointed in him. Yet, be pleased to believe, I consider what is prudent; at the same time, I must own, he carries it very well to me, and has given me no reason to suspect his sincerity.

'These are very cloudy times indeed, and, to us, a day of severe trial; but there is a mighty hand in it that lays the design out of reach or prevention. For my own part, I have reasoned and thought as coolly, and, I think, as regularly, on these matters, as ever I did in my life, and have used my best endeavours; but things conspire so together, out of any particular reach, that to me the hand is very visible, and Pennsylvania, thy former darling, is now become thy heavy affliction; and I can but lament my own fortune, that I should be concerned in it, at such a time when it is made so. But I have the comfort to think that, designedly or accidentally, I have contributed to no part of it.

'May that Divine goodness, that has hitherto so manifestly protected thee through so many floods, continue the same remarkable goodness, and deliver thee from the present pressing straits, which I believe will at length bring a real advantage

'JAMES LOGAN.'

It may be proper to mention, in connection with the false alarm of Governor Evans, named at page 20, that James Logan being accused of being privy to the affair, denied such charge, though Proud says he endeavoured to palliate the action, and excuse the governor, which rendered him the more suspected. The design, though it had considerable effect, after the first transport of amazement had subsided, turned out entirely contrary to the expectation of the authors and promoters of it. The people were soon undeceived; and when they saw how grossly they had been imposed upon, many of them so highly resented the usage, that the authors and promoters thereof were obliged to consult their own safety from the fury of an enraged populace.

This false alarm appears to be alluded to in the following lines by Thomas Making, of Philadelphia, one of the early settlers, who, after having resided in the country more than forty years, published a Latin poem, in 1729, entitled *Descriptio Pennsylvaniæ*, inscribed to James Logan:—

'Sed semel, hic rumor mendax clamavit ad arma,
Incola cui nimium credulus omnis erat.
Hæc male-fana die fuit acta tragœdia quadam,
Cum convenerunt undique turba frequens;
Silicet ut major fieret commotus in urbe,
Noteor et mutis rumor ubique foret,
Usque adeo fuit hac confusus in urbe tumultus,
Ut neque tuncleges, ordo nec ullus erat.
Hic removere sua instanti properabat ab hoste,
Ille nihil contra jussit ab urbe vehi;
Sed cocunque sibi voluit dementia talis,
Hæc damno multis est memoranda dies:
Vespere sed tandem fuit hoc stratagema detectum,
Fabula tunc istam finiit acta diem.'

In a letter written about this time, James Logan mentions John Fothergill and William Armistead, two Friends, from England, travelling on a gospel errand in America. John Fothergill was born at Wensleydale, in Yorkshire, in 1676. He was brought up with great care by his parents, who had joined the Society of Friends. He was attentive to the convictions of the Holy Spirit from an early age; and under the con-

straining power of the love of Christ, became a minister of the gospel when but a young man, in which capacity he visited Scotland, various parts of Great Britain, Ireland, and America. He died in 1744, aged 69 years. William Armistead, the companion of Fothergill, was only twenty-five years of age when he went to America on this visit, having previously travelled as a minister in some parts of Great Britain. He subsequently settled in London, where he became a correspondent of York Quarterly Meeting, and died in 1731, aged fifty-six years.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

'PHILADELPHIA, *4th Month, 28th*, 1707.

'HERE are two young ministering Friends from England, John Fothergill and William Armistead, of good sense every way, who, about ten days ago, sailed hence for Barbadoes, in order to visit the islands, and return thence to England; where, if they now were, they might be of great service, for they would be able to give a good general account of our proceedings as to affairs amongst Friends. They are thy friends, and, I may say, mine also; and I think there are scarcely any honest-hearted but what are so. There are two others arrived, since their departure, from the north of Ireland, by way of Maryland. Their names are Patrick Henderson and Samuel Wilkinson; the first Scotch, I think, by birth, and is a most extraordinary young man as ever visited these parts. Of such as these, the more always the better.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

The following extract from a letter from James Logan is included in chronological order, merely as indicative of his kindly feelings towards William Penn:—

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

'PHILADELPHIA, *11th Month, 17th*, 1708.

'WILLIAM TRENT, upon his wife's designing for England, is about selling his house * (that thou lived in), with the improvement

* S.E. corner of Second Street, and Norris' Alley.

of a beautiful garden. I wish it could be made thine—nothing in this town so well fitting for a governor; his price is £900 of our present money, which it is hard thou canst not spare. I would give £20 or £30 out of my own pocket that it were thine —nobody's but thine. JAMES LOGAN.'

Much improvement did not yet begin to manifest itself in the aspect of affairs in Pennsylvania. Under the force of excited feeling, the Assembly proceeded to such extremities, in 1709, as to impeach and endeavour to arrest the devoted and excellent Secretary Logan, who was then on the point of embarking for England, on business of the Proprietory. The Assembly actually issued to the Sheriff a warrant to seize and imprison him.

The Assembly had, three years before, brought articles of impeachment against the Secretary for malversation in office, to which they had required his reply; but on making the attempt, he found some important charges so vaguely stated that, until rendered more exact, it would be impracticable for him to frame an answer, or, in fact, fully to understand them. He had, therefore, from time to time, urged the Assembly to put their impeachment in such a shape as would enable him to make an effectual defence, for which he constantly declared himself ready and anxious. But the Assembly uniformly insisted upon his replying to the allegations against him as drawn by them; after which they promised to sustain their articles by such proof of their truth as they were in possession of.

Fully conscious of his own integrity and innocence, and the utter groundlessness of the complaints preferred against him, Secretary Logan did not shrink from trial, but requested an examination into the whole affair. Shortly before the period appointed for his embarkation, he again called upon the House to bring his case to an issue, that he might be enabled to go abroad with a clear reputation. He presented the following petition to the Assembly, requesting immediate preparation might be made for his trial:—

'TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.'

'The petition of James Logan, Secretary of the said province, in most humble manner showeth,

That, whereas the Assembly of this province, chosen the first day of October, 1706, thought fit, as is well known to you, in the month of February, in the same year, to exhibit to the then Lieutenant Governor, certain articles of impeachment against me; copies of which have been industriously diffused abroad; and, since that time, other complaints have also been presented; and upon the presumption that those accusations might be true, divers applications have been made, by the last Assembly, to the present Lieutenant Governor, requesting that I might be removed from his council, &c.

Yet, so it is, may it please the House, that not one of these articles, or complaints, have ever, to this day, been duly heard, or, at any time, so proved, or even rendered intelligible, as that, according to justice, I might have the opportunity of answering them, or speaking in my own justification, notwithstanding I had, by several repeated instances, earnestly pressed to obtain that favour; by which means, and the endeavours, that divers persons, highly disaffected to me, have used to calumniate me, among the inhabitants of the province, I have been most grievously injured and oppressed. Now, inasmuch as, for some months past, it has been generally known that I am speedily to undertake a voyage for Great Britain, whither the Proprietor's affairs do, at present, urgently call me; and being, by the late Assembly's most bitter remonstrance against me, laid under a greater necessity than ever, to clear myself of the several unjust imputations that have been thrown on me, lest any person, in those distant places, to which I am to repair, and to which the Assembly's papers have been solicitously transmitted, should be so far imposed on, as to believe that those accusations, without any trial, have really some weight in them; which, upon a trial, notwithstanding, I have no cause to doubt, but will totally disappear. I, therefore, humbly beseech this House, that, for rendering me the relief

that is due to the great wrongs I have sustained, they would be graciously pleased to order all those who have appeared against me, the severest and most implacable of my enemies, whoever they be, to proceed in prosecuting me, with their utmost zeal and ardour; that the very worst of my failings, in public affairs, may be drawn in the most legible characters, and exposed without mercy, to the eyes of all men; to the end that, in beholding them, they may fully know the extent of my crimes; and thereupon regard me, as I shall be found to deserve, and not otherwise.

But, because the time of my departure now draws nigh, I must, therefore, further beseech the House, that this prosecution may be carried on, within such a convenient time, as is consistent with the shortness of my intended stay; and, particularly, that it may not extend beyond the twelfth of this instant; that being the utmost, as far as I can at present judge, that I shall be able to attend to it; and I hope will prove a sufficient time, to dispatch all that is necessary to such a trial; within the compass of which space, I have been well assured, the Governor will be ready, on his part, to hear whatever shall be alleged against me, and, as far as in him lies, give such judgment thereupon, as to justice shall belong. And I do earnestly request the House, that they will be pleased to order, that, as speedily as may be, I may have full copies of all the petitions that have been exhibited against me, to any of the past Assemblies, and that I may be favoured with an opportunity of comparing them with the originals. For your special favour in all which, your humble petitioner shall, as in duty bound, &c.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

'*Nov.* 1, 1709.'

But, instead of complying with this petition, the only notice taken of the Secretary's application, on this occasion, was the issuing of a warrant to the High Sheriff of the city and council of Philadelphia to commit him to prison. This was designed to detain him until the vessel in which he had taken passage had sailed, and thus frustrate his intended voyage.

The following is a copy of the warrant issued for Logan's apprehension :—

At the Assembly held at Philadelphia, the 25th day of November, 1709.—The House did yesterday adjudge *James Logan*, for his offence in reflecting upon sundry members of this House in particular, and the whole House in general; charging the proceedings of this Assembly with unfairness and injustice. These are, therefore, in the behalf of the said House of Representatives, to require and charge thee to attach the body of the said James Logan, and him take forthwith into thy custody, within the county jail of our Lady the Queen, for the county of Philadelphia, under thy charge, and him therein safely to detain and keep, until he shall willingly make his submission, to the satisfaction of this House; or of such order as this House shall take for the same, during the continuance of this present Assembly; and this shall be thy sufficient warrant in that behalf. Given under my hand, this 25th day of November, 1709. DAVID LLOYD, *Speaker*.

To Peter Evans, Esq., Sheriff of the City and County of Philadelphia.

Within three days of the above warrant being issued, the Governor granted the following *supersedeas*:—

CHARLES GOOKIN, *Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, &c.* To Peter Evans, Esquire, High Sheriff of the City and County of Philadelphia. Whereas *the members chosen to serve in Assembly* for this province, as appears by certain resolves, and divers expressions used by them on this occasion, as I am credibly informed, have threatened to take into custody James Logan, Secretary of this province and a member of Council for the same; and thereby would prevent his intended voyage towards Great Britain, whither the Proprietor's affairs do call him, in which he is now ready to embark. Notwithstanding it has never appeared that any Assembly in this province are, in themselves, vested with any authority to attach any person who is not of their own House,

and much less a member of Council. Nor is there any jurisdiction yet, for the trial of such as they account offenders against them. And notwithstanding, at the time of making the same resolves, *they were not legally an Assembly*, nor for the future can be such until I shall see cause to call them. Now, to prevent any disorder which may arise from such conduct and irregular proceedings, I do hereby require and strictly command you the said Sheriff, that you suffer not the said James Logan to be anywise molested by virtue of any order, or pretended order, of any Assembly whatever; and in case any of the said Assembly, or others under pretence of any authority derived from them, shall attempt to attach or molest the said James Logan in his person, I do hereby command you to oppose such attachment, and that you by all means in your power take effectual care that the peace of our Sovereign Lady the Queen be kept, and all offenders against the same be opposed or committed as rioters; for which this shall be your sufficient authority. Given under my hand, and seal of the said Province, at Philadelphia, 28, 9br., 1709.

The governor, by the intervention of the above, rescued Logan in time, and he took his departure, notwithstanding the Assembly pronounced the *supersedeas* an illegal and arbitrary measure of the Governor, which caused animosities on both sides to be continued with renewed vigour. The scandal of these measures also reached England, and much was made of them there to disparage and reprobate colonial proprietary governments, and to set forth, by those opposed to Penn's interests, that such were not capable of any stable self-government and good conduct.

Logan arrived in England early in 1710, where he successfully vindicated himself; and, when his business was accomplished, he returned to Pennsylvania, having been honourably acquitted there, both by Friends and the civil authorities, and continued in the responsible post which he had so faithfully maintained.

Party spirit ran so high at this time in Pennsylvania as to

endanger the public tranquillity. Logan had carried intelligence of all the unpleasant proceedings to William Penn, which would have been distressing at any time, but more particularly so at the present, his constitution having begun materially to fail, being then in his 70th year. Being greatly concerned for the welfare of the colony, he summoned all his strength and faculties, and made an effort to address the people at large, in a letter which he returned by the hands of his secretary, Logan. He tenderly reminded them of his original design in founding such a community, of the great labour he had bestowed upon it, of the ruinous sacrifices he had made to sustain it, of the unprecedented prosperity, as regarded the accumulation of property, and the enjoyment of political liberty, which had attended the colonists under the institutions he had provided for them; and expressed, in terms of sorrow, his deep disappointment at the return which had been made by them for these substantial benefits. He pointed out to them the unreasonableness of their incessant complaints, the unfairness of some of their demands, their great injustice to himself, and the indignities which his secretary had experienced at their hands. He assured them that the enlarged privileges, which they so importunately demanded, were withheld by him only from the conviction that, if granted, they would be the sufferers; and that, could he believe otherwise, he would not be against yielding anything of the kind.

The following is a copy of the letter at length as recorded by Proud:—

'London, *4th Month*, 29*th*, 1710.

'My Old Friends,—It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that Province in a language I once hoped I should never have had occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions that I have met with from thence oblige me in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them.

'When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty beyond what many of themselves could expect, and wanting nothing to make themselves happy but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence. The many combats I have engaged in, the great pains and incredible expense for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate, of which (however some there would represent it), I too sensibly feel the effects, with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow, that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty.

'For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees, for, although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has an interest there, is, or must be, concerned in them by their effects, I must, therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been, doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions; and what real causes have been given, on my side, for that opposition to me and my interest, which I have met with, as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done and spent both here and there; I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted anything of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand, provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

'Before any one family had transported themselves thither,

I earnestly endeavoured to form such a model of government as might make all concerned in it easy; which, nevertheless, was subject to be altered as there should be occasion. Soon after we got over, that model appeared, in some parts of it, to be very inconvenient, if not impracticable. The numbers of members, both in the Council and Assembly, were much too large. Some other matters also proved inconsistent with the King's charter to me; so that, according to the power reserved for an alteration, there was a necessity to make one, in which, if the lower counties (the territories) were brought in, it was well known at that time, to be on a view of advantage to the province itself, as well as to the people of those counties, and to the general satisfaction of those concerned, without the least apprehension of any irregularity in the method.

'Upon this they had another charter passed, *nemine contradicente*, which I always desired might be continued while you yourselves would keep up to it and put it in practice; and many there know much it was against my will, that, upon my last going over, it was vacated. But, after this was cast aside, which, indeed, was begun by yourselves in Colonel Fletcher's time, I, according to my engagement, left another, with all the privileges that were found convenient for your good government; and, if any part of it has been, in any case, infringed, it was never by my approbation. I desired it might be enjoyed fully. But, though privileges ought to be tenderly preserved, they should not, on the other hand, be asserted under that name, to a licentiousness; the design of government is to preserve good order, which may be equally broke in upon by the turbulent endeavours of the people, as well as the overstraining of power in a governor. I designed the people should be secured of an annual fixed election and Assembly; and that they should have the same privileges in it that any other Assembly has in the Queen's dominions; among all which this is one constant rule, as in the Parliament here, that they should sit on their own adjournments; but to strain this expression to a power to meet at all times during the year, without the Governor's concurrence, would be to distort government, to break the due proportion of the parts

of it, to establish confusion in the place of necessary order, and make the legislative the executive part of government. Yet, for obtaining this power, I perceive, much time and money has been spent, and great struggles have been made, not only for this, but some other things that cannot at all be for the advantage of the people to be possessed of, particularly the appointing of judges; because the administration might, by such means, be so clogged, that it would be difficult, if possible, under our circumstances, at some times to support it. As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquillity and prosperity of the province and government, in all its branches, could I see that any of these things that have been contended for would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But, seeing the frame of every government ought to be regular in itself, well proportioned and subordinate in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient power to discharge its respective duty for the support of the whole, I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it than to take so much of the provision and executive part of the government out of the Governor's hands, and lodge it in an uncertain collective body; and more especially since our government is dependent, and I am answerable to the Crown if the administration should fail, and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations, I cannot think it prudent in the people to crave these powers, because not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it. Could I believe otherwise, I should not be against granting anything of this kind that were asked of me, with any degree of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe the contentions that have been raised about these matters have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire notwithstanding, at the bottom, to serve the public (which, I hope, has still been the inducement of several concerned in them), I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner in which I have been treated. The attacks on my reputation; the many indignities put upon me in papers sent over hither into

the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against my justice; besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves passed in the Assemblies for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of Government; my lands entered upon without any regular method; my manors invaded (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them), and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of that government, both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add the violence that has been particularly shown to my secretary; of which (though I shall by no means protect him in anything he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions) I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all the charges I have seen or heard of against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his prosecutors; and to think that any man should be the more exposed there on my account, and, instead of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration! In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and, at the same time, think of the hardships I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavours for, and disappointments from, that province; I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing upon themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and, blind to their own interest, are over-setting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

'Friends! the eyes of many are upon you; the people of

many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy; but, to see the use you make of them is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive even the sense or meaning. What are the distresses, grievances, and oppressions, that the papers, sent from thence, so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any in the Queen's dominions?

'Is it such a grievous oppression, that the Courts are established by my power, founded on the King's charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose! If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main, without tying me up to the opinion of principally one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs (for I believe the late Assembly have had but that one lawyer amongst them), and I am freely content you should have any law that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your oppression that the officers' fees are not settled by an act of Assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion than myself. Do, therefore, allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and, I hope, my Lieutenant's concurrence and approbation. Is it such an oppression that licenses for public-houses have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable; but that business I find is adjusted. Could I know any real oppression you lie under, that it is in my power to remedy (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such), I would be as ready, on my part, to remove them, as you to desire it; but, according to the best judgment I can make of the complaints I have seen (and you once thought I had a pretty good one), I must, in a deep sense of sorrow, say, that I fear the kind hand of Providence, that has so long favoured and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many

there to the great mercies of God hitherto shown them, be at length provoked to convince them of their unworthiness; and, by changing the blessings, that so little care has been taken by the public to deserve, into calamities, reduce those that have been so clamorous and causelessly discontented to a true but smarting sense of their duty. I write not this with a design to include all; I doubt not many of you have been burdened at, and can by no means join in, the measures that have been taken; but, while such things appear under the name of an Assembly, that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not insensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

'I have already been tedious, and shall now, therefore, briefly say, that the opposition I have met with from thence must at length force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances in relation to that Province. In the meantime, I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have wrote, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me that has not of late been paid; pray consider of it fully, and think soberly what you have to desire of me on the one hand, and ought to perform to me on the other; for from the next Assembly I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But if a plurality, after this, shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election, be so declared; and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love, and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end, our relation in the Truth having but the same true interest.

'I am, with great truth and most sincere regard, your real friend, as well as just Proprietor and Governor,

'William Penn.'

What answer was returned to this letter does not appear; but the result of it is well known. Previous to its receipt, some re-action appears to have taken place in the colony. New members were elected to the Assembly, and some troublesome ones left out. Isaac Norris, in a letter to James Logan, mentions all 'so far going on in good humour and well; the country pretty quiet and easy.' 'I cannot but take notice,' he adds, 'how universally and resolutely Friends were spirited about this election, nay, some from whose cautious or careful temper so much could scarcely be expected.'

In a letter to Wm. Penn, about the same date, Isaac Norris writes more fully:—

'Thine directed to Edward Shippen,* with thy welcome expostulatory letter to thy Friends and the people here, of the 29th of 4th Month, came to hand three days since. Several have already seen it, and are extremely pleased therewith. It is so consolatory to thy Friends, so tender and soft where it touches the others, and suitable to the present posture of affairs here, that we think it cannot be made too public. Notwithstanding, the contenders may perhaps cavil; and to-morrow being our monthly meeting [we] shall consider the most proper method to make it so. Had it happily arrived before the election, it might have facilitated the work, and been some support to Friends under the exercise which seemed to follow several with more than usual weight; who, contrary to their inclina-

* Edward Shippen was father-in-law to Thomas Story, and came early into Pennsylvania from Boston, whither he had gone from England in 1675. There he was persecuted for his religion as a Friend, and received from the zealots in power a public whipping. He was very successful as a merchant in Philadelphia, and amassed a large fortune. He was a speaker of the House of Assembly in 1695, being member for Philadelphia, and he was chosen first Mayor of the city in 1701.

Edward Shippen retained a strong interest towards his fellow-professors in Old England. In a letter to William Ellis, dated 27th of 7th Month, 1699, he alludes to his having forwarded for poor Friends, a present of gold. 'I have sent by our dear Friend, Aaron Atkinson, 12¾ ounces of gold. It cost here £76, 10*s.*, currency. I suppose it will sell in London for something above £50 sterling, the which I have desired Aaron to sell; and I leave the disposing of it to thee and him, among poor Friends, where there is most need, and where it may be most helpful.' He adds, 'and if there be a meeting at Alethey, where I was born, I desire to know; and whether they be in want.'

tions against mobbish contests, resolutely stemmed the insolent assurances that some seemed to have, that they could not be laid aside. Sure an over-ruling hand directed that our thoughts and steps here should be so answerable to thine there; and I heartily pray the providential hand which governs all may particularly influence here, and direct us to peace, duty, moderation, and right things. ISAAC NORRIS.'

The new members having been elected, and duly qualified to act, great harmony now subsisted between them and the Governor, such as had not been witnessed for years, so that many laws were agreed upon and passed to the satisfaction of all the branches of the legislature.

But the period of William Penn's last affliction was now fast approaching. He had already received some alarming intimations of it, yet his hopeful spirit looked for brighter days.

Notwithstanding he was so loaded with debt, he deemed it right now to make some effort to remunerate his faithful friend and secretary. When James Logan first consented to go to America with Penn, he went to it as a place to hide himself from the cares of life, and with no wish or expectation of advancing his fortune; but the reasons which he gives, in more advanced years, for changing his mind, are instructive, as they show that a religious man may moderately desire a measure of wealth with sincere purposes to make himself a better man, by attaining the proper means of becoming more useful. From motives of tenderness to his harassed principal, he never charged more than £100 a year for all his numerous services for many years. This was itself a lively proof of his liberality and disinterested zeal for a good man, and showed him at once a faithful and a generous friend. Steadfast as he was to his honoured principal, it is hardly possible to conceive how irksome and perplexing his duties, so moderately charged, always were. In his MS. book of letters to the proprietaries is preserved a long detail of them, such as they were in general, drawn up by him about the year 1729, as reasons to show why he so earnestly prayed to be excused from farther servi-

tude, saying it injured his health, and much trespassed upon the time due to his proper business as a merchant, &c.

In the 10th Month of 1711, Penn drew up an instrument for his secretary's remuneration, to which this note was appended by Logan:—

'The Proprietor was willing to give me what I would ask for my ten years' service, and, considering his melancholy circumstances in 1711, I set it only £100 a year currency, for all manner of services whatever; but told him I could stay in his service no more than two years. But he was seized with an apoplectic fit in less than one year, which tied me down to his business, and vastly, as it proved, to my loss.'

Impelled by poverty, and disheartened by the unskilfulness of his well-meaning deputy, Gookin, and an unhappy rupture between him and the Assembly, Penn once more pressed the purchase of his government upon the Crown. In the spring of 1712, the negociation seemed to be drawing to a close, and in a letter dated from Ruscombe in the 5th month of that year, he most earnestly appealed to his secretary for help in carrying out some of its provisions.

He commenced a letter to Logan on the subject, the last he ever wrote to him, dated Bristol, 4th of 8th Month, 1712. He commences by saying, 'I desire thee to move all springs that may deliver me from my present thraldom, as thou wilt answer it to the great all-seeing God, and all just and good men.' Towards the conclusion of his letter, after advising the colonists to discreetness, he adds, 'and may the simplicity, humility, and serious sincerity of the Christian life and doctrine, be your aim and attainment in the peace and plenty you are blest withal.'

His hand became paralysed before he completed this letter, and it ends in a broken sentence; it was forwarded to James Logan, by Hannah Penn, with the following:—

'ESTEEMED FRIEND,—The enclosed my poor husband wrote, but had not time to finish, before he was taken with a second fit of his lethargic illness, like as about six months ago, at London; which has been no small addition to my late most

serious exercises. But it has pleased the Lord in the midst of judgment, to show us mercy, in the comfortable prospect of his recovery; though as yet but weak. I am ordered by the doctors to keep all business from him till he is stronger; and yet, loth to let what he has written be delayed, I thought best to send it, though unfinished, for thee to make the best use of, there being several things of moment.

'I pray thee use thy utmost diligence to settle things and returns for our comfort.

'I ought to say more in answer to thine, intended for my dear deceased father [Thomas Callowhill]; only pray show the regard thou hadst for him, in assisting his poor helpless descendants. Time and trouble forbid my enlarging. I am called on in haste; so conclude with well wishes to thee, and love to my good and kind inquiring friends.

'From thy real friend, 'HANNAH PENN.'

A few words were afterwards added by Wm. Penn to this letter, of which only the following were legible:—

'Farewell, and pursue former exact orders, and thou wilt oblige thy real friend, WM. PENN.'

'My dear love to all my dear friends.'

William Penn lingered six years in this helpless condition, cut off from any effective participation in those important concerns which had been so dear to his heart, and which, for so many years, had engaged his most earnest attention, but not from a considerable degree of social, and what he valued more than all, of spiritual consolation and enjoyment.

Henceforward, for some years, the correspondence, and supervision of affairs relating to the Colonial government, devolved chiefly upon Hannah Penn, William Penn, jun., being in great degree alienated from the family, and given up to intemperance and the pursuit of insane projects of his own, and her own sons yet in their childhood.

But being a woman of uncommon energy and elasticity of mind, and of a sound judgment, she possessed qualities well adapted to the arduous duties of her new and elevated position.

Indeed the burdens which now rested upon her, were sufficient to fill an ordinary mind with dismay. Expenses, owing to her station, unavoidably great, with inadequate means—a heavy debt hanging over her—the care of a much beloved and dying husband, and three lads fast approaching the most critical period of life, and the charge of the helpless wife and three infant children of a profligate stepson, with the heartless and rude importunities of her son-in-law, Aubrey, for money, added to the disadvantages of her sex, these were enough, one would suppose, independent of public affairs, to engross all her faculties; yet all were attended to, although, in the end, she sank under the complicated burden.

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'*Ruscombe, 12th Month, 5th*, 1712.

'ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I wrote to thee about three months since in a P.S., or rather conclusion of a letter from my husband, who was then very ill at Bristol, but recovered so as by easy journeys to reach London, and endeavoured to settle some affairs, and get some laws passed for [Pennsylvania's] ease, and his own family's comfort. But finding himself unable to bear the fatigues of the town, he just reached Ruscombe, when he was seized with the same severe illness, that he has twice before laboured under. And though, through the Lord's mercy, he is much better than he was, and in a pretty hopeful way of recovery, yet I am forbid, by his doctors, to trouble him with any business, till better; which is the chief occasion of this to thee, to desire thee to be very inspectful and careful in all matters that relate to his credit or profit, and particularly that concern on which J. French came over; and if the owners of the ship cannot be righted, I leave it on thee to see my husband is not wronged; as also to desire thee the countenance of thy care in the affairs relating to my dear father, who has by his will left all his land and advantages in Pennsylvania to Charles Harford, and my cousin Price Webb, in trust for John. What is already received or due, I desire thou wilt keep in good hands, and return as soon as conveniency offers, by good bills to me, as administratrix; it being appropriated by him for certain debts and uses, at my disposal.

'I had thy letter written for my dear father a few weeks after his decease. I cannot be particular in answering it now, having left it at London with other papers.

'I have had more exercises of late than I can well express, but the Lord hath hitherto enabled me to bear them.

'Both my husband and self desire thee to make a quicker progress in their affairs, now that thou hast so sufficient a power. I design [to send] this by Peter Evans, to whom, for old acquaintance, my husband has given a place in the government; but his illness hinders his writing, as also signing some warrants necessary for his admittance, but which shall be sent after, as opportunity offers.

'I say no more, but with our love to our good friends, as if named, and the same to thyself, I close. HANNAH PENN.'

JAMES LOGAN TO HANNAH PENN.

'*12th Month, 23d*, 1712–13.

'LAST week, by New York post, to our very great joy, I was favoured with thy most welcome lines of the 10ber; welcome on their own account, as coming from such a hand, yet abundantly more so as they dissipated those clouds of sorrow that had universally, for some weeks before, been cast over us, by the reported accounts of our Proprietor's death. The story first rose from a foolish fellow who said he saw his funeral.

'I was heartily affected at the loss of thy worthy father, for whose clearness of judgment, and great solidity, both in thinking and acting, none, that truly knew him, could forbear entertaining a very great value. I should gladly have served him in his lifetime, and now, since his departure, shall be ready to do the same to those that succeed him in his interest in this province. Thy hopeful son John, I perceive, is the person.

'My inclinations neither are, nor shall my endeavours be wanting, while concerned in the general affairs in which I am intrusted. I have nothing else before me to bend my thoughts, but we are always unhappy in meeting with some clog.

'I heartily wish all that is expected of me were wholly in my power, that it might then appear whether in such cases I should

be blameless. But there is one melancholy cause, besides the backwardness of payments, this year amongst us, namely, the very great shortness of our last crop; though it appeared as well as usual in the field, yet, upon threshing, yields scarce half the quantity of grain that was expected. At Pennsbury, they are likely to have none at all to sell this year, and many hundreds of families, that used to sell large quantities of grain, are this year in danger of wanting bread for their own use.

'J. Sotcher has bought himself a plantation, and is eager to remove; but he has at length agreed to stay at Pennsbury one year longer, and, that he may be more free to look after his own affairs elsewhere, he farms it at about £40 of the currency.

'He and his wife give their duty, as also does, with sincere respect,

'Thy faithful friend and servant,

'JAMES LOGAN.'

JAMES LOGAN TO HANNAH PENN.

3d Month, 14th, 1713.

'YESTERDAY I was favoured with thine of the 8th, 12th Month last, renewing to us the affecting account of the Governor's second or third illness. He has been long acquainted with troubles, yet it has pleased God, in a signal manner, to extend his mercy at last, and carry him over all; and from the same kind hand, it is still to be hoped, that time will be allowed for the winding up of all his affairs honourably and advantageously, for the ease of the family, and, it may yet be wished, for his own comfort, in a larger enjoyment of them.

'I have written several long letters within these six months, and fear the expression of my uneasiness, occasioned by (if I mistake not) too rigorous a treatment, may be taken unkindly. You shall, however, I assure thee, be always welcome to the best of my services, and, though a release would be acceptable, yet till I see a prospect of a successor more fit for the business, I shall be contented to undergo some greater fatigue than I would be easily tempted to, on the score of money alone; but I *should* be on better terms than I have been since I last left you.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'RUSCOMBE, *3d Month, 12th*, 1713.

'THINE of the 23rd, 12th Month is with me, as also one of near the same date to my husband; also at the same time thy packet of the 9th Month last, by New York, was enclosed from Col. Hunter. But to my continued sorrow, my dear husband is not enough recovered from his late violent distemper, to give any particular answers to thy letters, yet hopes in a while he may, as thou mayest be sure I do; for I am surrounded with cares on all sides. But the hope I have, through the goodness of God, has hitherto sustained me, and has supported me through my exercises.

'Thy kind regard to my dear father's memory is very obliging, and the loss of him to me and mine is beyond expression. I daily experience it; especially since my dear husband's weakness. But I must submit, and consider that as it is our great loss, so it is his eternal gain.

'I am sorry to hear of the scarcity of corn, but hope this year you may be blessed with a better crop, and that the peace (which is at last proclaimed here) will give a fresh life to your trade, and all your and our comforts. Colonel Nicholson has gone hence, with the Queen's commission, to examine into the mismanagement of the several provinces. I wish he may find none to complain of from you. He expressed himself with great regard and kindness towards my husband, as some of our friends write us word; on which I intended him a few lines of civility, but my letter proved too late, and I think scarce worth sending now.

'I am glad J. Sotcher continues another year at Pennsbury, otherwise should be in great care about our goods, as well as the place, when Mary leaves it; and shall be ready to wish a part of them here, if Providence forbids our return: but my poor husband, when a little easy, has his retiring thoughts still alive in him.'

* * * * * * * *

'I must say no more, nor have I time to read what I have written; so take it as it is, and with our love I conclude,

'Thy real friend, HANNAH PENN.'

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

'*9th Month, 8th*, 1713.

'HONOURED GOVERNOR,—Thy late severe visitation obliged me, for some time, to forbear [troubling] thee; but now, in hopes it may have pleased God to enable thee for business again, I shall adventure once more to [address] thee, as formerly, earnestly praying this may find thee in a full state of vigour and strength, to consider and put a period to all thy depending affairs.

'Parson Evans, the bearer of this, being bound for England, reckoned he ought to have a line to thee from my hand. We have always had a good understanding with each other; but of late he complains he has laboured under some greater difficulties, in respect to thy interest, than formerly.

'Edward Shippen being dead, and Samuel Carpenter removing to Bristol, in Bucks county, to live, there will be but a bare quorum of the commissioners left in town; so that we shall be much weakened in carrying on business. T. Story has been dangerously ill, and is yet so very weak that there appears no great certainty of his recovery; which, should it please God to grant him, this visitation has made him so sensible of his error, in deferring his long-intended voyage, that, as soon as enabled to it, he will doubtless hasten away, Then there will be no sufficient *power* anywhere, to dispose of what may be fit to sell in Jersey—the one thou left being directed to S. Jennings, T.S., and me, or any two of us; all which should be timely considered, and the defects supplied.

'R. French is this day carried from hence to be buried. He has been long ill, and died here last night. He will be a loss to us, for though once very troublesome, yet, like W. Rodeney, before his decease, his heart seemed turned, and he appeared a cordial well-wisher to thee and thy interest.

'We have but a very indifferent crop again this year. The summer has been wet, and the fall comes on with more rain than has generally been known. The season is unkindly for health, and if the disposition of the air alter not, worse may be

feared. Great numbers of people are crowded in upon us from Europe, but they are mostly servants, and very few of estates.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'RUSCOMBE, *1st 7br.* 1713.

'LOVING FRIEND,—I received lately thine of 1st, 4th Month past, and have a few days since a duplicate thereof, as also an additional letter written 2d of 5th Month, by Henry Brooke, whom I have not yet seen, having been in London for above nine months past, for so long it is since my poor dearest was taken with his most fatal fit. Though beyond our expectation, he is recovered to a degree of health and strength, yet he has never attained his wonted strength in expression, nor is he able to engage in business as formerly. This throws a great load on me; and with respect to his American affairs, I am scarcely able to get through any part thereof to advantage, it being so much beyond my reach. However, I was willing by this, our dear friend John Salkeld [in England on a religious visit], to let thee know how it is with us, and that I have not only considered the contents of thy letters to myself, but have also consulted with our friends Henry Gouldeney, Councillor West, cousin Rooth, &c., about that part thou so much insists on, viz., about the division line,* and settlement of the lower counties. If they are so unfixed as thou seems to intimate, I am heartily concerned it has been let alone to this day; especially since, for some years past, my husband's life has looked precarious. And he is now unable to new model that important affair of the surrender, which I am advised by all my friends to get finished, and confirmed by an Act of Parliament, before it is too late. But the blocks thou throws in the way are ready to stumble me in it, till I consider that what steps my husband has taken have been with great deliberation, and in the soundness of his judgment, and therefore I cannot see who can now mend it. However, I purpose, for my own and friends' satisfaction, to get a copy of the surrender, and see if anything can be safely done in it. But as to the line, all con-

* The Maryland boundary.

clude that it does not at all depend on the Government, and therefore, as things are, it is best not to stir in it. If thou conclude the contrary, and think thou could push it on to advantage, by being here, and can leave thy charge there in good and able hands, I should be glad if thou would come over, though but for a few months; but the distance and precariousness of its success, forbids my pressing it; so I leave it to thee to do as thou thinks will be most for our real advantage.

'I have not time to add much more, the Friends going sooner than was expected. My poor husband, if he was well enough, has scarce time to write; so sends his dear love to all our good friends, as if named, and with as great fervency as ever, desires both their's and the country's welfare; in which I join, and with our love to thyself, desire thy continued care in all things that may contribute to the country's and our benefit. With which, and desires for thy own comfort also, I conclude,

'And remain, thy assured friend,

'HANNAH PENN.'

It may be proper here to mention that soon after Penn's return to England, he concluded to send out his son William to Philadelphia, rather, in some measure to redeem his own absence. But this ill-starred youth had given himself up to excesses, and was little disposed to leave the brilliant and dissipated life of London for the solitudes of a new country. From his school days he had kept the highest company, becoming thoroughly instructed in the ways of vice; and during the absence of his father in America—which was then thought by the family would have been an absence of years—the wayward son had entered afresh with unchecked ardour into his youthful passions.

When his father returned to England so suddenly and unexpectedly, he found him deep in debt, and almost ruined in constitution. This was a sad stroke to Penn, as the clever but perverted boy was the only remaining son of his first wife, and heir to the colonial government.

The youth had the grace, however, to be ashamed of himself, and on his father promising to pay his debts, he consented

to go out for a time to America, and study the business of the country under the guidance of the Deputy Governor Evans and the council. But it would seem that he had had some intimation before his going to Philadelphia, that his habits were not well spoken of there, for in a letter to James Logan he says, 'Villanous reports I know have been industriously brought over to you against me. The Lord forgive them as I do. In the fall, if I am well, I will be with you. I give myself a great deal of satisfaction every day, in considering of the pleasures of Pennsylvania, and the benefits I shall reap in your conversations, and in the books I design to bring over with me, &c. Perhaps you may think I write too gravely to be sincere,' &c. Penn wrote the most urgent letters to his friends in Philadelphia about his son; 'he has wit,' he said, 'has kept top company, and must be handled with much wisdom.' The intimations respecting him in the correspondence between the father and James Logan, himself then but a young and single man, shows the great confidence that was reposed in the exemplory morals and good sense of the latter. In writing respecting his son's arrival, he directs Logan, 'Immediately take him away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things; and weigh down his levities as well as temper his resentments, and inform his understanding, since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness as in measure the poor country's. Propose the best and most sensible for his conversation. Watch him, outwit him, and honestly overreach him, for his good.' [Even as Paul himself, 'who being artful, caught them with guile; if by any means he might win some.']

On another occasion, William Penn writes to James Logan, saying his son goes out 'to see how he likes the place, and if so to return for his family. He aims to improve his study this winter with thee, as well as to know the laws and people. Use thy utmost influence upon him to make him happy in himself and me in him. Qualify his heats, inform his judgment, increase his knowledge, advise him to proper company, he being naturally too open. In short, keep him inoffensively *employed* at those times that he is not profitably concerned.

Entreat our Friends to gain him all they can, and never speak or report anything to his disparagement behind his back, but tell him of it, and he has that reasonableness and temper to take it kindly. Be as much as possible in his company for that reason,' &c.

Logan undertook to give him good counsel, and to keep such an eye on him as he would on a favourite son. In writing of him to his father he says, 'I hope his voyage hither will prove to the satisfaction of all. It is a great stock of good nature that has led him out into his youthful sallies when too easily prevailed on; and the same, I hope, when seasoned with the influence of his prevailing better judgment, with which he is well stored, will happily conduct him into the channel of his duty to God, himself, and thee.'

The experiment, however, turned out most unfortunately. For a few months he behaved very well, and for some time Logan retained his influence over him. Between an occasional visit to Philadelphia, and his dogs and gun, or hunter and fishing tackle at the manor house, his time was pleasantly and innocently, if not very usefully spent. But after a while an evil intimacy sprung up between the youth and Governor Evans, and they soon brought discredit on themselves and a scandal on the whole community. The last letter of counsel to him from his father's faithful Secretary, appears to have been the following :—

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN, JUN.

'*5th Month, 9th*, 1713.

'WOULDST thou now, upon this pinch of the surrender, and thy father's indisposition, bend thy thoughts to the care of these things, besides the discharge of an incumbent duty (the reward of which, by an ingenuous mind, will ever be valued) and besides the great advantage it will give thy reputation among all thoughtful men, it will, I assure thee, be very considerable in thy pocket, and, in a very little time, largely repay thy private purse.

'Wouldst thou but serve thyself, I could with pleasure take any reasonable pains to serve thee; but he who will not be a

friend to himself, can scarcely expect others will be at much trouble to show themselves such, unless it were to reclaim the wanderer; which, I hope, if not already done, may still, with good grounds, be expected.

'There is scarcely anything I more ardently desire, than that thou mayst come to a full and true sense of what is necessary to thy own happiness, and mayst take the proper measures to attain to it; that thou mayst yet enjoy the pleasures of life, guided by reason instead of unruly passions, and prove a true comfort to thy family, an honour to thy father's name, and an utter disappointment to all those base spirits who wish your ruin.

'That thou mayst truly and substantially attain this, is the hearty prayer of thy sincerely affectionate friend,

'JAMES LOGAN.'

Young Penn continuing his mad career, proved himself an unworthy scion of the parent stock. As presumptive heir to the government, he not only set an evil example, but undertook to protect those who imitated his excesses. The young, the idle, the dissolute, crowded about him. Finding that he much more resembled his grandfather, the Admiral, than his pacific father, they made him their chief; and the war question being then under discussion in the Assembly, he openly joined the war party; and on his own authority organized a body of troops in the Quaker city. Nor was this his worst offence. But this is not the place to dwell long upon him and his misdeeds. Suffice it to say, his conduct was such as to rouse the indignation of the Quakers, by whom young Penn was indicted; and in his anger he renounced their doctrines, discipline, and jurisdiction; finally, after selling a fine estate of 7000 acres, given him by his father, returning to England deeply in debt, as thoroughly disgusted with America as America was with him. He quitted Pennsylvania with the threat that he would persuade his father to sell the colony to the Crown, and leave the settlers to deal with a less merciful ruler.*

* Dixon's *William Penn*, p. 406.

After his return from Pennsylvania, and his public renunciation of his father's religious opinions, he was less and less under the paternal roof. Marriage, and a home blessed with three beautiful and promising children, produced no happy result on his unstable character. He continued a great thorn in his father's side. Entering the army, he quitted it again in disgust. He tried to get into Parliament; but his opponent bribed higher, and he was defeated at the poll. He quitted his young wife and her children, leaving them to the care of strangers, to seek the lowest dregs of pleasure and dissipation, in the cities of continental Europe. He returned no more to England. A few years later his family heard that he was living in an obscure town in France, worn out, morally and physically, ruined in purse and in constitution. They never saw him again. He died in 1720, of consumption, brought on by his excesses; but full of penitence, it is said, for his errors. To his father the most mournful part of his story was never known.*

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'12*th Month*, 16*th*, 1713.

'My husband's and my dear love to our friends Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, if with you. Let Thomas know that my husband is better than when he was here. He was at Reading meeting last First-day, as also two or three times before, and bore it very comfortably. He expressed his refreshment and satisfaction in being there, as he frequently does in the enjoyment of the Lord's goodness to him in his private retirements. He frequently expresses his loving concern for that country's good [Pennsylvania], and sends his love in a general manner to all its well-wishers.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

About the same date as the former letter, Hannah Penn wrote again to James Logan:—

'Though my poor husband is not well enough to digest and answer the several particulars of thy letter, yet he is, through the Lord's mercy, a little better within these few weeks, than

* Dixon's *William Penn*, p. 431.

for many months before; and we are encouraged by it to proceed in the present course of medicine, which we think has hitherto been blessed to him.

'He sends his affectionate remembrance to all his dear and good friends, especially to S. Carpenter, G. Owen, R. Hill, I. Norris, C. Pusey, T. Story, T. Masters, and thyself, desiring as earnestly as ever all your welfare and comfort, and wishes he were more able to contribute to it, and hopes he yet shall; but always, in a resigned frame, submits his will to the wise Disposer of all things, through whose merciful assistance he has been comfortably supported through his long and great illness, and were his family affairs but in a common sort, I should hope he might be able to get through them. But as to those disquieting circumstances thou mentions, I cannot yet, however, trouble him therewith, knowing it will be to no purpose, and but increase his cares.

'I am heartily sorry that the minds of the people should be so perplexed in dissatisfactions about the title to the Lower Counties, for which I see little or no reason; but poor excuses will serve, when money is to be raised. However, if my health continue, I will inform myself further of those affairs. Pray use thy utmost endeavours to keep the minds of the people quiet, till we see whether it please the Lord to grant my husband's recovery; for I see not at present that anything can be done in it.'

By a letter from James Logan to Hannah Penn, dated 8th of 2d Month, 1714, it appears that the suspension of party spirit, which took place at the time of Penn's appeal to the people, added to the softened feeling now produced by his sad affliction, still continued to exercise a happy influence in the colony. Logan describes the people as 'generally pretty easy, all the factions against the Proprietor being over;' an expression importing more from James Logan than from most men, he being generally not disposed to look on the bright side of affairs. He adds the information, that 'last week, Thomas Story, being well recovered, sailed for Barbadoes; whence he designs to Ireland.'

Friends were now moving in earnest for the relief of Penn. 'Wise Samuel Carpenter,' the most sagacious man in Pennsylvania; Isaac Norris, a Friend of deep judgment and cautious expression; and Richard Hill, whose natural ardour was tempered by a sound discretion, that won the confidence of those who knew him—these, possessing 'the three best heads in Pennsylvania,' backed by James Logan, whose judgment was so much respected by Penn, gave it as their deliberate opinion, though contrary to their personal interest—for they could expect no such indulgent and wise administration of affairs under another—that, for his own sake, and that of his family, it would be right and best for him to sell the government to the Crown, and enjoy, on the proceeds thereof, the remainder of his days, in the quiet and repose he longed for; and they thought no man could blame him for it.

Yet he did not do it. Neither does he appear to have communicated to those Friends, nor, fully, to his own family, the reason why — notwithstanding the extremity to which his pecuniary affairs were reduced—he did not take their advice. But after disease had prostrated him, and public sympathy was awakened on his behalf, in England as well as in the province, we have, through Hannah Penn, the cause assigned in the following letter:—

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'RUSCOMBE, 11*th Month*, 22*d*, 1714.

'I HOPE ere this Thomas Guy has sent thee a copy of the solicitor's report on your laws, to whom I committed the case as soon as thy letter on this subject came to my hand; but, on thy desiring a copy, I herewith enclose one, and have ordered one to the Governor, who had also wrote for it. I am very much concerned to find he is made so uneasy there, and which I fear, in part creates his uneasiness to the people, and stops the current of justice and care that might otherwise be more cheerfully administered among them; for his and his friend's complaints are as great on the one hand as are thine on the other; and yet I believe thine proceeds from thy care for our and the country's good, and as such I take it kindly from thee.

But my dear husband being no better than he was, and therefore incapable of redressing any grievance, nor I in a capacity for doing it, what can be done? I see no way but desiring you will all, as thou offers for thyself, lay aside all private grudgings; and then, if you will but resolve to help, and not hinder, one another, you may yet go on in a more comfortable way than heretofore. For I do not think it is proper to make changes, neither does my husband incline so to do; and, therefore, without a unanimous desire of the people such a change will not soon happen.

'The Surrender remains as yet unfinished, and when it will be otherwise I cannot tell; but I am persuaded that, had my husband minded his own and his family's interest as much as he did the country's, it had been finished years ago; for the answer I receive from all great men is, that my husband might have finished it long since, *had he not insisted so much on gaining privileges for the people.*

'My poor husband has had two or three little returns of his paralytic disorder, but, I thank the Lord, it went off, and he is now in pretty good health—not worse in his speech than for some months past, nor can I say he is better; but when I keep the thoughts of business from him he is very sweet, comfortable, and easy, and is cheerfully resigned to the Lord's will, and still takes delight in his children, his friends, and domestic comforts as formerly. It is the public, not his family who feel the loss. However, I bless the Lord who has hitherto upheld me. 'HANNAH PENN.'

One feels indignant that an attempt should be made to fix the stigma of mercenary motives upon the memory of such a man. Grahame is not guiltless of an insinuation of this kind; for he asserts, that the keenest disappointment Penn experienced in the course of his 'experiment,' was caused by the non-payment of his quit rents. But he also charges him with holding fast his government, and endeavouring to perpetuate it in his family, from a fondness for the *eclat* attached to the dignity. This is of a piece with the notion that his virtue had *yielded to* the intoxications of regal splendour. Had Penn

desired worldly dignities, the friendship of James would have enabled him to gratify such an ambition, in a sphere more elevated in the eye of the world than the government of a *then* obscure colony in the wilderness of America. But this charge is met in the correspondence, wherein we have a proposition from Penn to place the government in the hands of a corporation to be composed of Friends; thus confirming our persuasion that he was only actuated by the magnanimous determination, notwithstanding his many disappointments, to protect, by an additional sacrifice, his friends in the enjoyment of those privileges, for the maintenance of which he had already sacrificed so much. For had he not so firmly insisted upon the preservation of those privileges, he might have disposed of his government to the Crown, on more lucrative terms than were finally agreed upon.

Logan writes on the 18th, 'We have now lost our dear friend, that worthy man, Samuel Carpenter. He departed last night about eleven, at his daughter Fishbourne's, where he happened to lodge when taken ill; for he had no dwelling in town—having removed last fall to Bristol. He lay about twelve days ill of a rheumatism and fever, in great pain; but just before his decease he took leave of all his friends about him, and departed quietly.'

'We were five commissioners of property, but the first two—Edward Shippen and he—are taken off; so that we can just act.'

In 1714, in reply to Hannah Penn's invitation for him to proceed to England, James Logan writes:—

'I formerly mentioned my unfitness to solicit the great; nor can I believe but others are generally much more proper for it than those of our profession; unless they have something particular to recommend them, as I hope thy children will have, and particularly the consideration that they are descended from a father who had a happiness that way not to be imitated, but by such do derive it from him.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'*12th Month, 24th*, 1714.

'My poor husband's weakness continues, and he is scarcely ever easy, whether with or without company, unless I am at his elbow; and to write in his sight so much renews his cares, and thoughts of what he was wont to do himself, which, increasing his trouble and uneasiness, I am forced to omit many things that would otherwise be minded. This is indeed the reason thou hast heard so little from me of late, as also that I cannot come at a way to answer thy desire in several of the most important affairs expressed in thine of the 14th of 3d Month, and thy three others in the 8th Month last, all of which I took kind, and commend thy care therein.'

Thomas Story reached England toward the close of 1714, and soon after his arrival made a visit to the Proprietor, of which an affecting account is given in his journal:—

10th Month, 15th, 'Being the fourth day of the week, accompanied by John Crouch, with whom I lodged, I went to Ruscombe, to visit Wm. Penn and his family. He was then under the lamentable effects of an apoplectic fit, which he had had some time before. His memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended, so that he was not so conversable as formerly, and yet as near the truth, in the love of it, as before. Wherein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks; for though to some this accident might appear like judgment, and no doubt his enemies so account it, yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own, and suspension of all his enjoyments, till this happened to him; by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet as sensible of the enjoyments of truth as at any time in all his life. When I went to his house I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition, but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit, under a *consideration of the* uncertainty of all human qualifications,

and what the finest of men are soon reduced to, by a disorder of the organs of that body with which the soul is connected and acts during this present mode of being. When they are but a little obstructed in their various functions, a man of the clearest parts and finest expression becomes scarcely intelligible. Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy [as his enemies reported] at all appeared in his actions. His mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him; and that he had still a good sense of truth was plain, from some very clear sentences he spoke, in the life and power of truth, in an evening meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted. So that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him—not in judgment, but in mercy—that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'*2d Month, 2d,* 1715.

'I HAVE lately been at London, and, by advice of friends concerned, I have got a sight of the deed of Surrender. Thomas Story has looked into it, and, with others, thinks there is as much care taken for keeping the Lower Counties, and confirming the people's privileges, as can be at all expected; and all therefore wish it could but be accomplished on so good a footing as it was then likely to be done, and to which I am advised to try. It is now under consideration of Councillor West and the trustees, who are desirous to forward it.

'On discourse with William Aubrey, I find him still dissatisfied in the slowness of returns, and his uneasiness will, I doubt, require me to forego some of our present rents, which I can but ill spare. Pray, for all our comfort, let it be mended, if possible, and he made easy, if it can be. I expect his wife here next week, to go down to Bath with my poor husband and self, for he has had long a desire to try those waters. I was afraid of the journey, and still am; but he being now fine and hearty as to health, and finding all things ineffectual as to the recovery of his speech, I have concluded to try, if it please

the Lord to prosper the journey; which we purpose to undertake in two or three weeks, if well, and nothing extraordinary prevent.

'My children are, I bless God, all well at present. I must not enlarge, being past midnight; my time for writing being in general when my poor husband is in bed, to prevent his uneasiness thereat.

'I must desire thy frequent inspection into the affairs at Pennsbury; for, unless William Blackfan has an older head to direct him, I fear he will not be able to manage that plantation to advantage.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'Bath, *4th Month*, 2*d*, 1715.

'It has pleased Providence to bring my poor husband and us safe to this place, where he has often wished himself, and which some physicians encouraged, in hopes the water might prove beneficial to him. We have been here full three weeks, but I cannot see any real amendment. However, having answered his desire in coming, I am easy so far; and I bless the Lord he is not worse than he has been for some months past.

'Things are with us nearly as they were, I mean our family affairs; but a great alteration at court, by the Queen's death, and changes thereon, which thou must undoubtedly have heard. Lord Sunderland, who is now here drinking these waters, is going Lord Lieutenant to Ireland. Several of the nobility are lately deceased; as, some months ago, the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Wharton, and the young and old Lords Baltimore, who died within a few weeks of each other, the father first. The heir of that family is now but a child, therefore it is probable no trouble will be given the people, nor us, for some years [about the Maryland line]. Lord Halifax also, the first Lord of the Treasury, is lately dead; by which our intention of soliciting that board towards perfecting the agreement, in which my husband was engaged, is again postponed for the present.

'*At thy leisure* pray let us hear whether you had anything

of the great eclipse of the sun, which was so extreme here (on the 22d of 2d Month past, at about ten in the morning) that for about three minutes I could not see to discern one child from another. The stars were also visible.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'Ruscombe, *7th Month*, 10*th*, 1715.

'My dear husband is yet continued in the land of the living, and, through the Lord's mercy, pretty hearty. He walks about the gardens and commons here daily, and has been several times at Reading meeting since our return from Bath; which journey he bore full as well as could be expected. And though I cannot say he reaped any benefit by it, with respect to his infirmity, yet I have the satisfaction of having made the trial, and pleased him with the journey; as also, by that means, had the opportunity of placing my son John at Bristol, where he is, to his own liking and my content, comfortably settled I hope.

'I shall now let thee know, that, by the late lamentable incursions of the Indians in Carolina, our ministry have been alarmed, and put on thoughts of taking that, and all other [colonies], into the Crown's immediate care. On which the several proprietors, and we among the rest, have petitioned, and given our cases to the Parliament, praying relief; which they seem to hearken to, and, it is thought, will do little in it any way till next season.'

Affairs in Pennsylvania, under Governor Gookin, had been steadily growing worse. As a man, he seems to have been well meaning, but he made a weak and wrong-headed governor. He had a most difficult legislature to deal with, and, being deficient both in wisdom and tact, was soon involved in disputes more detrimental to the public weal than those of Governor Evans. If the Assembly was often unreasonable, he was obstinate, and between them justice stood still.

One great cause of the embarrassment of the Pennsylvanian Government was the repeal of laws enacted by the Colonial Assembly. James Logan remarks:—

'That the disallowance of the Affirmation Act, and repeal of the laws for courts, put a stop to all proceedings, and so weakened the hand of the magistrate that the public grew rampant, and wickedness was bold and open. A mobbish disposition encouraged, and the weaker and more sober people affrighted, it is admitted by every member of note among other persuasions, that it is impossible to hold court and carry on the administration of justice without Quakers, who are so numerous a part of the community.'

James Logan wrote subsequently, 5th Month, 2d, 1715:—'We have no courts, no judicial proceedings, these two years past;' and Isaac Norris, about the same date—'We have now no justice administered, and everybody does what is right in their own eyes.'

This was the fruits of the continued determination of the Governor's to nullify the old law of affirmation, on the plea of its being repugnant to the laws of England, and to insist upon the enforcement of the English affirmation law, whereby all who refused an oath were excluded from holding office—serving as jurors—or testifying in criminal cases. The effect of such a measure, in a community so largely composed of Quakers, was to suspend the action of the courts. What a hubbub this raised about the Governor's ears, may readily be imagined. He differed from his council, quarrelled with the secretary, scolded at the Assembly, and proclaimed himself immovable as a rock. The Assembly reminded him that his council was with them, and asked for a conference. He replied in a crusty message—''Tis not to be wondered at that the council should be of opinion with the Assembly, since of four, of which the council consisted, three are Quakers, and the other, I suppose, durst not dissent from them. I cannot agree to a conference where I must be without a lawyer, and under the disadvantage of six and twenty to one. I assure you, gentlemen, in this affair I am governed by my own reason; and if I *had* advisers, I should not bring them to a conference, where, it is probable, they might see me treated with indignity through their sides.'

The end of the matter was the displacement of Governor Gookin, and the introduction of a more complaisant deputy, Sir William Keith, to the chair of state.

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'Ruscombe, *2d Month, 2d*, 1716.

'This is to accompany a little present to thy wife, viz., a small case of bottles, in which there are two of convulsion water. It is an extraordinary medicine, and I hope it will come in time enough to be of service to your dear little girl, who I truly wish you comfort in, and shall be glad to hear her life and health are continued to you, and yours to her.

'I design this, with the case, to the care of Clement Plumstead, from whom I had the kind present of skins. It was delightful to my husband, as is always anything from that country, to which he holds his love and good wishes through all his weakness, which, through mercy, does not much increase on him. He has hitherto been preserved in a sweet and comfortable frame of spirit, and very comfortable in himself. I enjoy him as a great mercy to me and mine, but the want of his direction in public and family affairs, you there, as well as myself here, are but too sensible of.

'I have now been at London, advising with my friends what may be done for your relief, and the help of the country, which is now so lamentably managed. All generally concluded no way like that of resigning the government wholly to the Crown, with the provisos my husband has made; and which, Thomas Story says, are as much as could be expected, or at least as much as can be attained. He struggled hard for them; and I do not expect any that come after him will be able to do more, or better than he did. Therefore we all have reason to wish it were so confirmed. But as that cannot be done this session, and your case requiring speedy thought, we have under our consideration three that offer as governors in case of a change. Neither of the three is James Coutts, nor can I hear his name has been so much as mentioned for the place. Be sure he will not be chosen by us; but perhaps one of the three may, who has a very good character, as a judicious, considerate, and well-

natured man—a man said to be above the world and the little tricks of it. Indeed, if he answer the character I have of him (and from a considerable man too), I think you will be happy under his administration, and hope you will make him easy if he comes. But how to get him commissioned and approved, is a task.

'My daughter Penn is here, and gives her love to thee, as also does my dear husband. It is hard for me to get time from him to write, and to do it before him does but make him thoughtful, when otherwise he would be very easy and comfortable, as he generally is, when business is not in view.'

HANNAH PENN TO THE COUNCIL.

'Ruscombe, *2d Month, 6th*, 1716.

'Richard Hill, Isaac Norris,

'Samuel Preston, Jonathan Dickinson, &c.

'Esteemed Friends,—I had yours of 8th October last, as also one from you of 12th of 6th month last, directed to my husband, whose continued indisposition hinders him from conversing with you himself, and therefore please to accept this in answer to them both.

'In the first place, I kindly accept of your love and affectionate concern to and for my husband, whose perfect recovery seems to be denied us; yet is he blessed, under his misfortune, with a sweet and comfortable serenity of mind (at least equal to that of his former health), with the continued incomes of the love of God, which is a constant comfort to *him*, and helps to support *me* under the loads I meet with in the want of his health.

'The discouragements you undergo have been no small part of my cares, and I am glad to find that you have condescended to try all possible ways to oblige the Governor, and keep peace in the country; and had your endeavours succeeded, I should have rejoiced; for indeed I would have gladly consented to the present Governor's continuance among you, had his conduct been but answerable to his trust. But I see, not only from your letters, but indeed from all sorts of people, that his stay will but prove the disquiet of the country if continued; and

shall make it my business, as far as I can, to get you and the country relieved in this case. But I think it had been well if you had (in consideration of my husband's weakness), sent over or approved a proper person as agent, to have resided here, and who might have taken opportunities to have discoursed with me and others concerned, and, at the same time, to have corresponded with you, and have solicited your affairs at court, which I am in no wise able to effect; it being with a deal of difficulty that I can leave my poor husband and large family, so much as to see London once in a year. I have [been there] lately, and, I hope, made a little advance towards your relief. But since I came home, my husband has had a return of his fits, which will discourage my leaving him soon again.

'But what I can, shall be willingly done in this case; for I conclude a *change* must soon be made, and, for that reason, have been on inquiry, and now have the choice of several persons. One seems more likely than the rest—having attained to the [meridian of life], and not below the generality of the world either in estate or capacity; and should he be sent among you, I hope he will be well used, and *deserve* it. And had you but an agent here to manage for you, the thing might be soon accomplished. But I am a poor helpless woman, confined to the country, having my head and hands over full of my family affairs, and troubles that attend me here. I also find that every one has business of his own to mind, and that this requires a constant care. Henry Gouldney, who is my principal friend on these occasions, is not well, nor Thomas Story, who has been kind in helping me to put matters in a true light, and in rallying my papers together. But I cannot expect him to confine himself to my affairs at all; much less till he has cleared himself of the concern he principally came upon, [a religious visit.]

'However, I think it a providence he is here, and may be applied to in a case of need, or to answer objections that may arise against the province in case of a surrender or change; one of which I hope you will soon hear of, and, it is probable, the latter first. Wherefore, I pray you, be not discouraged,

but hold on in your regards to my poor husband and his, and in your care for your country and the privileges it has enjoyed, and I doubt not, in spite of all its opposers, to get them settled in a good measure to you. My will, I am sure, is not wanting, nor shall my endeavours, as far as in my power.

'I am, with hearty salutes of true love to you and all yours, your faithful and affectionate friend, 'HANNAH PENN.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'I RECEIVED thy several letters, viz. the 16th and 27th of 2d Month, the 6th, 14th, 18th, and 21st of 4th Month, 8th of 5th Month, and 12th of 8th month last past, by which with the diverse accounts from the Council and others, I conclude you had difficulties enough to grapple withal from the public; and since those in whom I have had most reason to confide, have advised to a change of Governor, we have—all concurring—joined our helping hands to make you easy therein, and overlooking all other difficulties, have, at your requests, got Wm. Keith commissioned by my husband, and approved by the Crown; and, with a general consent, he now goes Deputy Governor over the province and territories. Though he was pretty much a stranger to me, his prudent conduct and obliging behaviour, joined with your observations thereon, give me and those concerned good hopes to believe that he will prove satisfactory. He is certainly an understanding man, and seems to have made himself master of the affairs of your province, even beyond what one might expect in so short a time. To him, therefore, I refer for many things in thy letters, which should be otherwise answered; for all things relating to the Government affairs are answered by his person, his commission, and his instructions.

'Lord Baltimore's encroachments we hope to appear against, in a right season. At present they appear pretty quiet; but the hint thou gave me of Lord Sutherland's design was not groundless. Yet by the friendship of the Earl of Sutherland, I am assured it is quite put by; and I believe he will stand by us, against all such encroachments.

'*It* is expected the Government will be again upon uniting

proprietary governments to the Crown. When, if not before, we must move for a consideration of ours; and I am ready to join with thee in the wish, that the soil, as well as Government of those Lower Counties, was well disposed of. But how that will be done, I cannot yet see. I expect Councillor West here in a little time, and may then consult thereon.

'Colonel Keith has obtained his approbation by so general a consent, that, whatever becomes of the proprietary governments, we think he will be continued over you, if his conduct answer his character. He has also given me such assurance of his care and zeal in our affairs, as gives us room to hope you may safely consult with him, for your own ease and our good, in cases of property; though he is, by his instructions withheld from intruding thereinto.

'I desire my love to cousin Ashton; also to John French, Jasper Yeates, Joseph Woods, and those others in the Lower Counties, that have, in behalf of themselves and others, applied to us for relief, and who, being now obliged by the change, will, I hope, on all occasions make it appear that they did not seek it out of private interest or revenge, but the good of the country, and the quiet and comfort of the people.

'This leaves us 12th of 12th Month, my husband near as usual. '1716—per GOVERNOR KEITH.'

The Jasper Yeates mentioned above, and the James Coutts, a pretender to the chief magistracy of Pennsylvania, had long been active opponents of the union of the Lower Counties to the Province; and their party having succeeded in effecting a separation in legislation, entered into an intrigue, of which Jasper Yeates was the projector and prime mover, to bring about an entire independence, and erect those Counties into a government, with Colonel Evans at their head. Logan, in a long letter upon this subject, written in 1709, undertakes to explain the leading motives of the master spirit in this conspiracy.

'The country people of this province,' says Logan, 'having of late fallen in upon [grinding] their own wheat, and selling or

shipping the flour, Jasper Yeates, a man of a working brain for his own interst, found his trade at Chester to fall under a very discouraging decay. Upon this, he frequently discoursed of removing to Newcastle, where he is possessed of a large tract of land close by the town, by means of that irregular grant to Colonel Markham, of whom he purchased it. But as that town has never been considerable for trade, and therefore his land, notwithstanding the conveniency of its situation, not very valuable, the first thing to be laboured was how to render it so. Of this they could never conceive any great hopes, unless some bar was thrown in the way between that and Philadelphia, that thereby Newcastle might become the mart for the trade of the Lower Counties, and that there might be no communication between us and those counties, whose inhabitants have always chosen to bring their trade to Philadelphia, rather than to stop or have anything to do at Newcastle. This, with the unhealthiness of the place, and disorderly way of living among the people, has been the cause why the place is not, at this time, much more considerable than it was thirty years ago; notwithstanding there are three times the number of inhabitants in the country about it, than there were at the time Philadelphia was first [located]. To make the town flourish then was the business, to which nothing seemed more conducive than an entire separation of these counties from the province, formerly so strictly united.'—'Nothing would do but either to get Newcastle made the seat of a small Government by itself, which, however inconsiderable, might answer the end proposed; or else, to have it annexed to some other neighbouring Government, other than Pennsylvania, the distance of whose capital from our river might leave Newcastle almost as absolute in the administration (which must be committed to the principal men of that place), as if it were altogether independent; and until some such thing was brought about, Jasper could not think of removing.'

Logan then describes the methods by which James Coutts, and other influential citizens of the Lower Counties, together with Colonel Evans, were to be enlisted in the enterprise—how

the Territorial Assembly was to be mastered, and Government thrown into confusion—the intervention of the Crown sought to restore order—to separate incongruities which could not coalesce, and deliver from the thraldom and hazard of Quaker domination those who, under its repressing influence, could not rise to the level of their reasonable ambition, nor obtain adequate protection for their property against marauding pirates in times of peace, or open enemies in war. The scheme proceeded to a certain point, when Colonel Evans, upon whose co-operation they had confidently counted (but the strength of whose attachment to the proprietary interest they had not duly estimated), on occasion of an address, in the name of the Assembly, which they presented to him, calling in question William Penn's right of government over the three Lower Counties, unexpectedly repelled their approaches with indignation, and checked, for the time, their proceedings. The Assembly consisted of seventeen members, eight of whom, being opposed to the address and designs of the majority, immediately withdrew, and so broke up the House.

Logan proceeds to say:—'Their designs, if carried into execution, might injure Pennsylvania, it is true; but at the same time Kent and Sussex, and a great part of Newcastle, would be ruined by it; the planters would be oppressed; and if obliged to maintain a Government of their own, would find the burden insupportable. For I am sorry I have occasion to say, that by the great mortalities that for two or three years past has reigned among them, they are exceedingly reduced; so that in the two Lower Counties there are not above a hundred or six score families in each; and the greatest part of Newcastle county is in the same condition; only that the Welsh tract, settled lately from hence, and the lands between Christina and Brandywine, and thereabouts, are in somewhat better circumstances.'

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'Ruscombe, *1st Month, 2d,* 1717.

'Dear Friend,—I have already written to thee by the new Governor, who, from the character given of him, we have

accepted, and hope the country and our family will in the end reap the advantage, which I at present refused in another, who offered not less than £200 down, with thanks and good promise; and which would have been a useful recruit to me in my toiling circumstances. But I let it slip, to oblige those that recommended the present Governor for the country's good, and in whose power I hope it will be (by attending to the country's prosperity) more than to make up that loss to me and mine.

'I confess I have sometimes awful prospects, when I look on my poor little creatures, till I turn to that great hand of Providence that encloses and takes care of the lower part of his creation, and who, I trust, will not be forgetful of these, as yet, innocent and hopeful plants, who have hitherto partaken of his blessings in many ways; for which my soul desires to be humbly thankful. My poor dearest life is yet continued to us, but I know not how long that may be, for he is very weakly.

'I have for these three or four years continued on in this large house and expense, only to keep him as comfortable as I can; for he has all along delighted in walking and taking the air here, and does still, when the weather allows; and at other times, diverts himself from room to room; and the satisfaction he takes therein is the greatest pleasure I have in enjoying so large a house, which I have (with the necessary expenses and loads I bear), long found too much for me and our shrunk income. 'HANNAH PENN.'

It became more and more a measure of necessity that Penn should yield to the wish of his friends, by parting with his province of Pennsylvania, which he made up his mind to do in 1712, and offered it accordingly to the English Government for £20,000, which was afterwards reduced to £12,000, reserving to himself the quit-rents and estates. Though the deed was made, the precarious state of his health prevented it from being finally executed.

This was a severe stroke to Penn, who, in prospect of it,

exclaimed in the bitterness of his soul, 'O Pennsylvania, what has thou cost me? Surely above £30,000 more than ever I got by thee!' But notwithstanding such discouraging feelings and prospects, the country went on prospering. Labour produced fruitful fields, and that produced commerce—these united, enriched all; so that what was sown in bitterness, brought forth a fruitful and honied harvest to the reapers.

A letter from Hannah Penn to James Logan, written about a month after the previous one, gives a further good account of William Penn, but he was not to survive another year. His death took place the 30th of 5th Month, 1718. Thomas Story visited him repeatedly during his sickness. The last time they saw each other was on the 25th, only five days before his death. He had sufficient understanding left to exhibit the outward appearance of innocence and love, and the inward one of the enjoyment of the Deity himself, by an almost constant communion with his Holy Spirit.

Notwithstanding the extreme pressure of his affairs, and his ardent duties as the head of a political community, founded upon principles before untried by any statesman; amid the turmoil of important business, public and private, harrassed with many solicitations of the needy and expectant, who besought his influence with the heads of Government; surrounded at one time by the glittering crowd of the royal court, and then plunged into the depths of adversity, by the sad reverses of fortune to which he was subjected, he was still enabled to keep his eye single to the great Ruler of Nations, to rise above the billows of affliction, and effectually to resist the seductive influences, so apt to inflate the spirit or intoxicate the brain of those who are favoured with the smiles of kings; and, what is perhaps yet more difficult for a noble and generous spirit to withstand, the misanthropic feeling so liable to be engendered by the ingratitude of those who had largely benefitted by his liberality, which, as he remarked, 'had made them what they were.' But, in the midst of his troubles—although he sometimes gave vent to his feelings and expressions of honest indignation—the earnest breathing of his chastened spirit still was, 'the Lord turn them and forgive them.'

The cloud that was permitted to obscure his setting sun, was such a cloud as we sometimes behold at the close of day, which, whilst it may conceal the full radiance of the parting luminary, partakes of his glory, and affords a cheering indication of his presence.

> "Behold, then, what a glory from the sun
> Has fringed that cloud with silver edges bright,
> And how it seems to drink the golden light
> Of sunset."

The intellect was obscured, but the spirit unclouded. We have the testimony of Simon Clement, that during that remarkable dispensation of Divine Providence which terminated its earthly career, 'his actions were regular and orderly, and nothing appeared in his behaviour but a loving, meek, quiet, easy temper, and a childish innocence, which to me seemed a great indication of his having been in a very happy frame of spirit, at the time when he was surrounded with this indisposition.'

We have seen how sudden was the stroke that prostrated the intellectual powers of the founder of Pennsylvania; it surprised him in the act of writing to James Logan, and with so little premonition, that his pen was arrested at the first word of a sentence. Yet, although the time was unforeseen, he seems not to have been without some presentiment of the awful event. And it is peculiarly pleasant to find, by the closing paragraph penned just before that fatal stroke—fatal to his intellectual life—that his mind, to the latest period of its active powers, was overflowing with patriarchal love and solicitude for the permanent welfare of his people. 'And I advise you to be discreet in those parts of the world; and may the simplicity, humility, and serious sincerity of the Christian life and doctrine be your aim and attainment, in the peace and plenty you are blessed withal.' This was his last exhortation to the people of Pennsylvania.

Soon after the death of Penn, that great departure from his principles,* which we have still to lament, became manifest,

* Although the Colonial Assembly was at first mainly composed of members *of the Society of Friends*, at a very early period the cares and tendencies

yet his labour was far from being wholly lost, either in the field upon which it was directly bestowed, or in the world at large. Although, in the planting of that colony, he had not realized the full desire of his soul, yet he had been a distinguished instrument, in the hand of the Governor of nations, to do a great work; greater, perhaps, than he was himself aware of; at least in the influence it was to exert upon the minds of men of future generations, and the governments of the world. A large part of mankind is experiencing, at this day, the safety and benefit, both to church and state, of the principles of perfect religious equality and liberty of conscience for all men, which he was the first to establish and test; and they are beginning, at length, more generally to appreciate that other great principle which lay at the foundation of his commonwealth—inviolable peace.*

The next letter from Hannah Penn to James Logan, after the event of the Proprietor's death, contains a reference to an address of condolence, accompanied by a present, which she had received from the Indians. They appear to have sent her materials to form a garment of skin, suitable for travelling through a thorny wilderness; thus expressing by a symbol, as was customary with them, their sympathy, and sense of the difficulties which lay before her, in the remainder of her path through life.

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of political life became irksome to those whose thoughts and hopes, in a great degree, turned toward 'that better country, that is, an heavenly,' in expectation of which the patriarchs of old looked upon themselves but as wayfarers and pilgrims in a strange land.

The Society then, as at other times, had many nominal members—respectable men, to whom the excitement and reputation attached to prominent stations offered temptations.

During the whole course of his life, Penn found but one qualified member of of the Society whom he was able to place at the helm of government, viz., his valued and gifted friend, Thomas Lloyd; and he only for a few years, as President of Council. But the responsibility was a heavier one than Lloyd was willing to sustain, and, much to the regret of his principal, he relinquished the charge.

The legislative power soon fell into the hands of persons not at all connected with Friends, even while the Society still had the numerical preponderance in the community.

* *Philadelphia Friend.*

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

'RUSCOMBE, 1*st Month*, 12*th*, 1719.

'DEAR FRIEND,—Thine of the 7th, 9ber, I had, and take very kindly thy regards, and the sympathy of all those that truly lament mine and that country's loss, as deservedly due: the consideration of which loss has brought with it a vast load of care, toil of mind, and sorrow upon me. But the full satisfaction I have, in that my loss is the great and unspeakable gain of him who was dearer to me than life itself, is some allay to my sorrow; and the hopes I have of kind assistance from my friends on your side, gives me some relief; and for whose sake, and the good of that country, I shall exert myself as far as my capacity will allow, even beyond what otherwise my inclination would draw me to; for of choice I would rather covet the retirement of your woods, than the noise of your towns. However, both in their places have my good wishes; and I will yet hope those near branches of my dear husband, his children, may live to improve them both.

'For my own part I expect a wilderness of care, of briars, and thorns here, as transplanted from thence; which, whether I shall be able to explore my way through, even with the help of my friends, I have great reason to question, notwithstanding the Indians' present—which I now want to put on—having the woods and wilderness to travel through indeed! However, hitherto I go on with comfort, hoping all will end at last to our joint satisfaction. But things have moved slowly, and the rather because we are for accommodating matters in friendship, in the family, as far as it safely may; but waiting which, and the return of my son Penn from abroad, have delayed. However, a copy of the will comes herewith by Capt. Annis, the care of which and many more of my concerns, I leave to my uncle Clement, who kindly relieves me, and to whom I refer. But I must not neglect to desire that you, the commissioners of property, would consider and advise me; since the same persons are named as trustees and also commissioners, because we conclude the same persons can act in both.

'I and my friends are jointly glad that you have a law to continue the present Governor, until he is re-established; which

we shall not be unmindful of in its due time (nor, I hope, will it be forgotten there), at whose interest, care, and charge, that whole country, and the privileges thereof, was obtained; the loads of which are still in being, and, with other old burthens, now fall heavy on my shoulders; and were it not for hope, I should sink under the divers cares it has brought upon me.

'But I am hitherto upheld, and I hope I shall be, through the remainder of my days here. My children are, through the Lord's mercy, in health; as are now the several branches of our family. Since the death of my near and dear friend, other lesser afflictions have befallen me in my family; but we are at present pretty well. 'HANNAH PENN.'

The following letter, from Hannah Penn to James Logan, was sent by Thomas Chalkley:—*

'LONDON, 11*th Month, 5th*, 1719.

'RESPECTED FRIEND,—I was not willing to let my good friend Thomas Chalkley go, without sending thee a few lines; though writing has become a task too hard for both my eyes and head, from having been too much constrained thereto in the years that are past, and by the continued cares I still undergo. Upon which accounts I must desire thee to make my excuse to all my good friends with you, particularly those few that have written to me themselves; and, as opportunity may offer, pray also let Friends of the Women's General Meeting know

* Thomas Chalkley, an eminent and useful minister in the Society of Friends, removed with his wife and family from England into Pennsylvania in 1701. He settled and resided there the remainder of his life, which was upwards of forty years; excepting that part of it in which the necessary affairs of trade and business took him abroad, in a seafaring way, but more especially in the discharge of what he believed to be his duty as a minister of the gospel, which was his principal and most delightful employment. This he performed through many deep trials, and exercised various ways in different parts of the world, with good success.

He was a person much beloved and highly esteemed, having many amiable virtues. He is said to have been of a meek and quiet spirit, and to have had an engaging sweetness, both in his ministry and conversation. He died in the island of Tortola, in 1741, when on a gospel visit there. Though he had not the advantage of a literary education, or much learning, he left behind him some printed works on religious subjects, and a journal of his life, written in a plain and simple, yet very interesting manner, which proved an acceptable legacy to many lovers of his memory.

that I received their affectionate and serious letter, on occasion of the death of my dear husband (as I did, likewise, the testimony from the Men's Meeting), and that I take most kindly the tender expressions of their love and respect to me, and heartily return mine to them.

'As to business here, I must refer thee to my uncle Clement, on whom I much rely for his advice and inspection into my affairs, who has also written to thee by this conveyance. But I am grieved to hear such complaints, and so much reason for them, against the acts of your Assembly; and I wonder that no person can be found better fitted to be your chief judge than [David Lloyd],* one who has always showed himself to be a troublesome, ill-tempered man, and an inveterate enemy of my poor husband.

'The satisfactory accounts I have had of the Governor's former prudent management, made me very easy concerning him; and it is his own interest to take care not to give occasion for such complaints, as will make it difficult, if not impossible, for me to support him.

So referring thee to my uncle's letter, which I herewith enclose, I conclude in true love to my friends, as if named, thyself and wife in particular. This from thy real friend,

'HANNAH PENN.'

The next letter from Hannah Penn, written to James Logan in 4th month, 1720, announced the death of her son Penn, an event which has already been noticed.

Shortly after that time, her constitution seems to have given

* David Lloyd, whose name occurs elsewhere in these pages, was many years Speaker of the Assembly, and also acted as Clerk of the Council. He distinguished himself by giving constant opposition to the proprietary interest. He had been brought up to the law; and was one of the principal antagonists of the Governors Evans and Gookin. He is represented to have been one of the chief instruments in separating the province of Pennsylvania from the Lower Counties, so as to compose Assemblies independent of each other. He went from England about the year 1686, and was commissioned Attorney-General, by William Penn, the same year. He was a person afterwards much esteemed among the Friends, to whose Society he belonged, as well as by others, being generally accounted a man of integrity, and considerable abilities, both in his civil and religious capacity; but his political talents seem to have been more for dividing than uniting different interests. He died in 1731, at which time he was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

way under the pressure of business and anxiety of mind, and but one more of her letters occurs. It bears the date of 1724, and is expressive of her satisfaction at the measures which had been taken by the colonial government on the occasion of the murder of Sawantaeny, a Seneca warrior, by John Cartlidge, a trader; the first circumstance of the kind which had occurred since the foundation of the colony. It had created a great sensation in the community, and the active measures so promptly pursued to investigate the affair, and bring the guilty to punishment, afford a most pleasing illustration of the just and friendly policy, up to that time and for some years after, maintained towards the natives, and a striking example of its happy influence upon the minds of a people proverbial above all others for a strict observance of the law of retaliation. Yet in this case they requested, and even pleaded for the life of the murderer, and his liberation from confinement. But more of this hereafter.

Under date of March, 1722, John Penn, now twenty-three years of age, and styled Proprietor, wrote to James Logan:—

'My mother would have written to thee before this, but she has been, for three or four months, very much indisposed with a fit of the dead palsy, which, though much gone off, has left her weakly; but as the warm weather advances I hope she will recover. She desires her kind love to thyself and wife, as doth thy loving friend, 'JOHN PENN.'

The hope here expressed was but partially realized. Though sufficiently recovered to be able to write, in 1724, Logan having called her attention to the neglected condition of the proprietary affairs the subsequent year, observes:—

'I am extremely troubled that I am obliged to write thus to thee, when weakened, undoubtedly, by so long habituated an infirmity, which, I have always believed, care and business in a great measure brought upon thee. Had it pleased God to have continued thy former health, I doubt not, but as these affairs were thy own immediate concern, they might, by this time, have been in a much better condition.

'I am sensible of thy occasions [for returns] to discharge

debts, &c., but, till your dispute is settled in your family, none can be remitted on your account. 'JAMES LOGAN.'

Just two years after this, the dispute above named was ended by the establishment of William Penn's will.

In the spring of 1722, an Indian of the Five Nations was barbarously killed within the limits of the province, somewhere above Conestogoe. This murder was supposed to be perpetrated by one or two persons of the name of Cartlidge. The Governor immediately commissioned James Logan and Colonel French to examine into the case, and, after due inquiry, the government made satisfaction to the Five Nations—*at whose request the suspected murderers were spared.*

The favourable result of this is alluded to by Hannah Penn in the following letter to Governor Keith, dated 3d Month, 20th, 1724:—

'We have been very much pleased with the happy event of the treaty at Albany, after the unfortunate death of the Indian who lost his life in the province; and we cannot but approve the conduct of the Government in that affair, and acknowledge not only the care of the Governor himself, but also of those gentlemen who undertook so fatiguing a journey for the service of the public. We hope and desire the same care of those poor people, the Indians, may still be continued; that the same measures my husband first established with them may be constantly pursued, and that all treaties with them may be managed with their full concurrence and approbation.'

The history of this case is pretty fully set forth in the minutes of Council; and the intercourse with the Indians thereupon forms a very interesting and creditable chapter of Pennsylvania diplomacy, under the auspices of Quakerism, and a great contrast, indeed, to the policy which has usually been practised by civilized men, in their transactions with those whom they have been pleased to designate savages, and too often to treat as brutes.

It appears that information of this murder was brought to the Governor on the 6th of 3d Month, 1722, and forthwith announced by him to the Council, 'that he might consult with

them on the most proper measures to be taken on so extraordinary an occasion.' It was at once determined that James Logan, as Secretary, and Colonel French, a member of the board, should proceed without delay, with the coroner, to 'Conestogoe,' near which place the Indian was killed, to confer with the natives there, and ascertain the facts of this unhappy occurrence. On the 7th they started, sending before them the high-sheriff of the county of Chester, 'with a proper warrant to apprehend the two brothers, John and Edward Cartlidge, the reputed murderers.' On the evening of the 9th they reached their destination, near where the city of Lancaster now stands, but then a wilderness. John Cartlidge was already in custody, and on the next day his brother was arrested. A council was immediately called, which met on the 14th; at which were present, Civility, Tannacharoe, Gunnehatatorooja, Toweena, and other old men of the Conestogoe Indians; Savannah, chief of the Shawnese; Winjack, chief of the Ganawese; Tekaachroon, a Cayoogoe; Oweeyekanowa and Noshtarghkamen, Delawares; and divers English and Indians.

James Logan, the Secretary, laying down a belt of wampum on the board before them, spoke to the Indians as follows:—

'Friends and brethren,—William Penn, our and your father, when he first settled this country with English subjects, made a firm league of friendship and brotherhood with all the Indians then in these parts, and agreed that both you and his people should be all as one flesh and blood. The same league has often been renewed by himself, and other Governors under him, with their councils, held as well in this place where we now are, at Philadelphia, and other places. Both his people and yours have hitherto inviolably observed these leagues, so that scarcely any one injury has been done, nor any one complaint made on either side, except one for the death of La Tour and his company, for nearly forty years past, and of this you are all fully sensible.

'Yet as all human affairs are liable to accidents, which sometimes fall out even between brethren of the same family, though issuing from the same parents, so now your good friend, our Governor, and his Council, having heard, by report only,

that one of our brethren had lost his life by some act of violence alleged to be done by some of our people; without receiving any notice or complaint of it from you, but moved with a great concern for the loss and unhappiness of the accident, like true friends and brothers, the very next day sent us two, Colonel French and me, first, to condole with you, which we now do very heartily, and next, by the full powers with which we are invested, to inquire how the matter came to pass, that justice may be done, and satisfaction made, according to the firm leagues that have from time to time been made between us and you. For we will suffer no injury to be done to any of you, without punishing the offenders according to our laws, nor must we receive any without just satisfaction made to us, for so the laws of friendship and the leagues between us require,' &c.

Logan's speech being ended, the witnesses, all Indians, were examined. From their testimony it appeared that Sawantaeny had pitched his wigwam, and set his traps, on the banks of the Mannakassy, a branch of the Potomac, and that the Cartlidges coming to trade with him for skins, John had first presented, and then sold him some rum, upon which he became intoxicated and then importuned for more, and persisted in his importunities till the trader, irritated, struck him with so much violence that he died.

Eight hours were spent in the investigation, when the council adjourned for the day; the commissioners distributing among the Indians a hundredweight of bread and meat, and two gallons of rum made into punch. Next day the Indians were requested to send a messenger with the belt of wampum to the Senecas, to whom the deceased belonged, with a joint message; but they informed the commissioners that they could not join any words of their own to the present of another, 'for no such thing was ever practised by the Indians, and they had no belt ready of their own, otherwise they would send it.' The Conestogoe Indian, 'Civility,' was then privately informed that there was another belt which they might take as their own. This pleased him, and the punctilios were adjusted, the messenger agreed upon, and the following charge given him, viz.:—

'Deliver this belt from the Governor and Government of

Pennsylvania to the king or chief of the Senecas, and say that the words it brings are these:—William Penn made a firm peace and league with the Indians in these parts near forty years ago, which league has often been renewed, and never broken. But an unhappy accident has lately befallen us. One of our brethren and your people has lost his life by some of our people. Rum was the first cause of it. He was warm, and brought his gun in anger against them. They were afraid of his gun, took it from him, wounded him, and he died. Our Governor, on the first news of it, sent us, two of his council, to inquire into it. We have done so, and we are now taking the offenders to Philadelphia to answer for their fault. We send these shrouds to cover our dead brother, and this belt to wipe away tears; and when we know your mind, you shall have all further reasonable satisfaction for the loss.'

The next morning a number of the old Indians visited the commissioners at their departure with Cartlidge, whose wife grieved almost to distraction, and endeavoured to force herself and her child with him, but was at length prevailed upon to stay. The woman's sorrows being loud, *the Indians went in to comfort her.*

The commissioners returned to Philadelphia, and in eighteen days the messenger to the Senecas (one of the Five Nations) was announced, in company of several Conestogoes, with their reply.

Satcheechoe delivered the answer of the Five Nations, viz., 'That James Logan came up to Conestogoe from the Governor, on the news of one of their cousins being killed, to acquaint them of our great sorrow for the unhappy accident, and had delivered a belt of wampum to wipe away their tears; they had received that belt, and now returned another also to wipe away ours.

'He delivers another belt of wampum, and says that they are thus far well pleased in what is done; that they hope the bones of the dead man will be taken care of and kept in memory, and that they desire a good understanding may be preserved between them and us. That they have received also from the Governor two shrouds, which they will keep as long as

they live, but do not receive them as any satisfaction for the loss of their brother.

'He presents another belt, and says, that when James Logan delivered the belt to be sent to them, he said it was desired that two of their kings or chief men might come down to us, to agree upon what satisfaction should be made to them for the loss of their relation; that all things being well understood between them and us, no heart burning should be left. They accepted that belt and message, and were willing that there should be no heart burning; and, as a token of it, they sent this belt now presented in return, but they would not come to us on this occasion.

'He presents another belt from the chief of the Five Nations, who says this Government sent up two members of council to Conestogoe upon this business; but two persons were not sufficient to make it up, and answer for a whole country. They expect a greater number of people, and now send this belt to require the Governor to go up to him. For as the offence was committed by the English, it is the Governor's duty to go up to them, and not theirs to come to us. That this belt is to show the Governor that he may come safely to them, and when he is there all things shall be fully accommodated. That they are now making war with the Cheekaragoes, but on the Governor's coming, they may make peace with those people, and so have peace with all.

'He presents four small strings of wampum, and says that these are sent as a string to draw away the Governor, as by the arm immediately, even this day, without any loss of time, that all may be friends together.'

The Governor and Council took a week to deliberate upon this requisition. The message from the Five Nations bespoke irritation allayed, but not subdued. More soothing measures were needful. To comply fully with the Indians' demand might not be consistent with dignity and self-respect, and a middle course was agreed upon. The Governor, in a long speech, abounding in friendly expressions, assured them that his grief still remained; that the message from Conestogoe was *sent to* express sorrow, and not in lieu of satisfaction; that the

offenders should be dealt with according to English law, as if the deceased were English, but that he could not visit Saccuncheuta, their head chief, at his habitation. He reminded them of the grand council to be held that summer at Albany, by their sachems and the Governors of New York and Virginia, and hoped to meet them there. He added, 'I hear that our brother who is dead was a near kinsman to my great friend Saccuncheuta, I therefore send him a mourning ring off my own finger, to be put on his finger, to signify that I will always have the same regard for his kindred as if they were my own kindred.'

The message was also accompanied by a present for the head chief of the Five Nations.

In about eleven weeks Satcheechoe returned from his mission, with a highly gratifying reply:—

'The great king of the Five Nations is sorry for the death of the Indian that was killed, for he was his own flesh and blood; he believes the Governor is also sorry for it; but now it is done there is no help for it, nor that the Governor should be angry and spare him for some time, and put him to death afterwards. One life is enough to be lost; there should not two die; the king's heart is good to the Governor and all the English. One struck a gentleman with a knife at Albany; they were sorry for it; but it was made up, and nobody was put to death for it. So they desire John Cartlidge may not die for this; they would not have him killed. John Cartlidge has been a long time bound, and they desire he may be bound no longer.

'When the Governor comes to Albany they will take him by the hand, and their hearts shall be joined as their hands together. The Five Nations will be glad to see the Governor; they have been busy getting victuals, as fish out of the rivers, and some venison from the woods; but now squashes and pompions are come they will be able to travel.

'Their king is an old man, and could not come hither; he cannot travel as a young man, but he will come to Albany to see the Governor there, who, he hopes, will come in ten days.'

The grand council assembled on the 7th of 9th Month. Sir William Keith addressed the sachems at length, and closed

his discourse with these words:—'I have brought these goods with me to bind my words, viz., five pieces of shrouds for clothing, five casks of powder, and five hundred-weight of lead, to encourage your hunting, that you may grow rich and strong; and I desire you may receive them as a pledge of our firm resolution to live in perpetual peace, and under the strongest ties of friendship with the Five Nations; that you will ever remember us as your brethren, and not suffer your young men, when they travel, to hurt any of our inhabitants, no more than they would their own, or to kill their cattle and stock. And that this visit, and the covenant chain which is hereby brightened, may be recorded in everlasting remembrance, to be sent down to your and our children, and to our children's children; to last as long as the mountains and rivers, and the sun and moon shall endure.

'I also give you those two pieces of blankets, to wipe away and dry up the blood that has been spilt, and to cover it so as it may never be seen or heard of any more.'

Tanachaha replied, 'We have well considered all you have spoken, and like it well, because it is only the renewing of former leagues and treaties made between the Government of Pennsylvania and us of the Five Nations, which we always believed we were obliged to keep. And as to the accident of one of our friends being killed by some of your people, which has happened by misfortune, and against your will, we say that we are all in peace; we think it hard the persons who killed our friend and brother should suffer, and we do, in the name of all the Five Nations, forgive the offence, and desire you will likewise forgive it, and that the men who did it may be released from prison, and set at liberty, to go whither they please; and we shall esteem that as a mark of regard and friendship for the Five Nations, and as a farther confirmation of this treaty.

'We are glad you have wiped and covered the blood of our dear friend and brother, and we desire the same may be forgotten, so that it may never be more mentioned or remembered. We [present you with] a few beaver, bear, and dressed skins, and so conclude.'

The Indians then desired to know of the Governor, if the men who were in prison for killing their friend and brother were discharged. The Governor answered, that as soon as he returned to Philadelphia he would give such orders in that affair as should fully answer the request of the Five Nations, in order to confirm the friendship that was so happily renewed and established by this treaty.

The foregoing circumstance affords an evidence of the happy results of the sound and safe policy adopted towards the aboriginal inhabitants by the founders of the Province of Pennsylvania. It may be observed that in the first instance, contrary to usual practice of colonists, the Proprietor not only purchased his land from the natives, but in all his dealings and communications with them treated them with great justice and sincere kindness, giving them not only full satisfaction for all their lands, but the best advice for their real happiness. Of this their future conduct showed they were very sensible; and the country afterwards reaped the benefit of it. In 1682, Penn first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the Indians, which ever afterwards continued between them, and for a space of more than seventy years was never interrupted. It lasted, indeed, so long as the Quakers, to whom, long after his death, they always continued to show the greatest regard, retained power in the Government, sufficient to influence a friendly and just conduct towards them, and to prevent or redress, such misunderstandings and grievances, as occasionally happened between them and any of the inhabitants of the Province. A firm treaty of peace was reciprocally concluded between William Penn and the Indians; and both parties mutually promised to live together as brethren, without doing the least injury to each other. This was solemnly ratified by the usual token of a *chain of friendship* and covenant indelible, never to be broken, so long as the sun and moon endure. Penn's conduct to this people was throughout so engaging, his justice so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to

them; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced, while they are a people. In 1749, at a council held during the administration of Governor Hamilton, with the Seneca and other Indians, in Philadelphia, Ogaushtash in part of his speech thus expressed himself:—

'We recommend it to the Governor, to tread in the steps of those wise people who held the reins of Government before him, in being good and kind to the Indians. Do, brother, make it your study to consult the interest of our nations; as you have so large an authority, you can do us much good or harm; and we would, therefore, engage your influence and affection for us, that the same harmony and mutual affections may subsist during your Government, which so happily subsisted in former times, nay, from the first settlement of this Province by our good friend, the great William Penn,' &c.

So long as a kind and conciliatory treatment continued to be observed towards the Indians, the friendship which existed between them and the settlers was but little if at all interrupted. During the forty years that James Logan held the office of Secretary to the Governor and principal agent, by his upright and judicious management, he contributed powerfully to the preservation of that friendship and alliance which were the result of a Christian conduct exercised towards them, and of which they were very sensible.

At a treaty held with the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, in 1742, Canassatego, chief of the Onondagoes, thus expressed himself on behalf of the Indians, respecting James Logan, which evinces their sense of gratitude when treated with kind regard. Canassatego addressed the Governor and Council, and said:—

'Brethren, we called at our old friend, James Logan's in our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him hid in the bushes, and retired through infirmities from public business. We pressed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to assist once more, on our account, at your council. We hope, notwithstanding his age and the effects of a fit of sick-

ness, which we understand has hurt his constitution, that he may yet continue a long time to assist this province with his counsels. He is a wise man, and a fast friend to the Indians; and we desire, when his soul goes to God, you may choose in his room just such another person, of the same prudence and ability in counselling, and of the same tender disposition and affection for the Indians. In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, and because he was so good as to leave his country-house and follow us to town, and be at the trouble, in this his advanced age, to attend the Council, we present him with this bundle of skins.'

After the Governor had concluded, James Logan replied to that part of Canassatego's speech which related to him, and said:—

'That not only upon the account of his lameness, of which the Indians themselves were witnesses, but on account of another indisposition, which, about three years since, had laid him under an incapacity of expressing himself with his former usual freedom, he had been obliged to live retired in the country. But that our first proprietor, the Honourable William Penn, who had ever been a father and a true friend of all the Indians, having, about forty years since, recommended them to his particular care, he had always, from his own inclination as well as from that strict charge, endeavoured to convince all the Indians that he was their true friend; and was now well pleased, and after a trial of so many years, they were not insensible of it. He thanked them kindly for their present, and heartily joined with them in their desires, that the Government may always be furnished with persons of equally good inclinations, and not only with such, but also with better abilities to serve them.'

Upon the death of Logan, in the year 1751, the management of Indian affairs passed into other hands, by whom a very different line of policy was pursued towards them, from that which formerly had never failed to gain and preserve their friendship and alliance. About this time, also, a strong cur-

rent of prejudice set in against the peaceable manner with which the affairs of the province had hitherto been conducted by Friends, and endeavours were made to prevent them, as much as possible, from being returned as representatives to the Assembly. This was so far successful, that in 1756, not more than twelve of the thirty-six who composed that body were Quakers.

The effect of this altered state of things was the early appearance of discord and enmity, and an open rupture was very soon brought about between the Indians and the Government, attended with the most calamitous results, in which ravages of a frightful description were committed by the irritated and incensed aborigines, with reprisals on the part of the whites, not less barbarous in their character.

As a contrast to the strict amity and kindly interchanges which had existed between the first settlers and the aboriginal inhabitants under a more Quakerly administration, take the following account of a most horrible massacre of Indians, extracted from an authentic publication, printed at the time of the occurrence, at Philadelphia, entitled *A Narrative of the late Massacre of a number of Indians, Friends of this Province*, &c. :—'On Wednesday, December 14, 1763, fifty-seven men, some from our frontier townships, who had projected the destruction of this little commonwealth [of Conestogoe Indians] came all well mounted, and armed with firelocks, hangers, and hatchets, having travelled through the country in the night to Conestogoe. There they surrounded the small village of Indian huts, and just at break of day, broke in upon all the Indians at once. Only three men, two women, and a young boy were found at home ; the rest being out among the neighbouring *white people*, some to sell their baskets, brooms, and bowls, which they manufactured, &c. These poor defenceless creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed, and hatcheted to death! The good Shehaes,* among the rest, cut to pieces

* Shehaes was a very old man, who assisted at the second treaty, held with the Conestogoe Indians by William Penn, in 1701, and had ever since continued a faithful friend to the English. Shehaes is said to have been an exceedingly

in his bed! All the Indians were scalped and otherwise horribly mangled. Their huts were then set on fire, and most of them burned down.'

'The magistrates sent out the remaining Indians, brought them into town, for their better security against any further attempt, and promised them protection. They were put into the workhouse, a strong building, as the place of greatest safety. But the cruel men who first made the attack hearing that the remaining fourteen Indians were in the workhouse, fifty of them, armed as before, went and violently broke open the door, entering with the utmost fury in their countenances. When the poor wretched Indians saw they had no protection nigh, nor could possibly escape, and being without the least weapon of defence, they divided their little families, the children clinging to their parents; they fell on their faces to the ground, protested their innocence; declared their love to the English, and that, in their whole lives, they had never done them injury; and in this posture they all received the hatchet! Men, women, and children, were every one inhumanly murdered in cold blood!

'The barbarous men who committed this atrocious act towards the Indians, in defiance of government, and of all laws, human and divine, and to the eternal disgrace of their country, mounted their horses, huzzaed in triumph, as if they had gained a victory, and rode off unmolested? The bodies of the murdered Indians were then brought out, and exposed in the street, till a hole could be made in the earth, to receive and cover them. But such wickedness cannot be covered. "The blood of the innocent crieth to heaven for vengeance."'

In his Latin poem addressed to James Logan, Makin has the following lines; which, though contrasting the different results of the policy adopted for obtaining possession of the soil in New England and in Pennsylvania, does not appear altogether irrelevant in this place:—

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good man, considering his education, being naturally of a most kind and benevolent disposition.

'Non regio hæc Indos armis subigendo tenetur;
Sed certa emptori conditione data est,
Vivitur hic igitur tuto sine militis usu;
Est sibi securus propria quisque tenet.
Hic locus est multis felix, ubi sedibus aptis,
Sors optatæ dedit non sine pace frui.
Dira sed infelix, heu! bella Nov 'Anglia sensit;
Indis quæ semper gens male—fida fuit.'

On just and fairest terms the land was gained;
No force of arms has any right obtained.
'Tis here, without the use of arms, alone,
The blest inhabitant enjoys his own;
Here many, to their wish, in peace enjoy
Their happy lots; and nothing doth annoy.
But sad New England's different conduct showed,
What dire effect from injured Indians flowed.

Although Friends were mostly excluded from places of trust and power in the government, yet, from the commencement of hostilities with the Indians, they exerted themselves to bring about a reconciliation in a manner consistent with their pacific principles. Thus we find, that in 1756, soon after the first invasion of the frontiers of Virginia by the Indians in the French interest, Friends endeavoured to prevail with the Government to enter into conciliatory measures with them. This proposal was, however, for some time disregarded. The Friends who were most actively engaged in forwarding it brought the subject under the consideration of the ensuing Yearly Meeting; but as that meeting viewed it as one of a civil character, it did not think that it properly came within its province, as representing a religious body, though the proceedings of Friends in their more individual capacity in the matter, were cordially approved of.

In the eleventh month of the same year an association was formed, chiefly among Friends, 'For gaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures.' This association continued its exertions to the time of the definitive treaty in 1764, during which period committees were annually elected by its subscribers, and many thousands of pounds were raised *to promote the* object they had in view. The money thus

raised was expended chiefly in presents to the Indians, in order to conciliate them, and sometimes with a view to prevail on them to seek out and release the settlers whom they had taken prisoners. These exertions seem to have had a most salutary effect, and, indeed, appear to have been mainly instrumental in restoring the peace of the province.*

During the time of this Indian war, Friends, with a view to watch over the interests of the poor natives, thought it right to attend the treaties, which, from time to time, were held between them and the settlers, although their attendance was far from being agreeable to the latter. In the year 1757, John Churchman, who, with some other Friends, attended on one of these occasions, thus alludes to it :—

'On the 12th of the seventh month this year I left home, in order to attend a treaty to be held between the Indians and our Government at Easton, in Northampton county, and proceeded to Philadelphia, where I was present at several conferences with Friends; the governor having declared his dislike to their attendance at that treaty, or their distinguishing themselves by giving the Indians any presents. The result was, that as mutual tokens of the revival of ancient friendship had passed between them and the Indians, with a view to promote a general peace, it would be of bad consequence now to neglect or decline attending on this important occasion; though it was judged necessary for Friends to act with great caution.'

It is worthy of remark that the sound and safe policy William Penn and his coadjutors adopted, so far as they are concerned, has continued between the Indians and the Quakers down to the present time. 'The Friends' of North America still keep up a kind intercourse with the several tribes of Indians on the borders of their respective provinces, and are closely engaged in instructing them in husbandry and the arts of civilized life, and also in imbuing their minds and their

* For a further account of the 'Association for promoting peace with the Indians,' and a commemorative medal, *see Select Miscellanies*, vol. i., pp. 148–153.

children's with the peaceful principles of Christianity. Many of the Indian tribes still regard the Quakers as the children of William Penn, their fathers' friend and benefactor, and are accustomed to seek to them for counsel and advice in every transaction of importance which they have with the whites Let us, again, for a moment, contrast this pacific policy with that of the opposite one of war and bloodshed.

Although the colony of Pennsylvania was established considerably after most of the other provinces bordering on the Atlantic, and without possessing the advantages which several of them had, yet in a few years it was estimated it contained more inhabitants than all Virginia, Maryland, and both of the Carolinas. The cause of this increase of population in Pennsylvania, beyond that of other provinces, is to be attributed, not only to the civil and religious freedom secured by its laws to the settlers, but also to the kind and just treatment which had been shown to the Indian natives, whereby the colonists were entirely safe from molestation or aggression. The neighbouring states, by pursuing a different policy, were engaged in frequent broils and wars with the Indians, attended with grievous loss of life and property, whilst Pennsylvania stood alone in the enjoyment of uninterrupted prosperity, peace, and quietness.

In 1675, Massachusetts was at war with the tribe of Pokanokets, under King Philip, although their late chief (Massasoit) had welcomed the first settlers to the soil of New England, and had opened his cabin to shelter the founder of Rhode Island. The war soon extended to other tribes, and that of Narragansatt was extirpated from the face of the earth. The Indians had their revenge—one town after another in Massachusetts was laid in ashes; the pleasant residences that had been won by hard toil in the desert were laid waste. They ravaged the scattered villages like a passing storm; and for a long period all New England was kept in a state of terror and excitement. The province of Maryland was also visited by the natives with hostilities, and massacres were perpetrated to a frightful extent.

William Penn came to his province some years later, and

without arms; he declared his purpose to refrain from violence —he had no message but that of peace; neither sword, gun, or soldier was seen in his province, and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever knowingly shed by an Indian; and this kind feeling and mutual forbearance has continued between the Friends and the Indians to the present day.

So late as the year 1845, the Indians in the state of New York manifested, in a somewhat curious manner, their grateful remembrance of the ancient kindness and justice shown to them by William Penn and the early Quakers. The Seneca tribe, located at Alleghany and Cattaraugas, held their usual council in July of that year, on the general state of their affairs, to which some of the Friends were invited. After the business was concluded, one of the chiefs made a speech to the following purport:—'In order,' said he, 'to express the high regard we entertain for the friendship so long existing between the 'Friends' and the Seneca Indians, we have solemnly concluded to adopt into our nation one of their members, and for that purpose we have selected our venerable friend, Philip E. Thomas. According to the ancient custom of our tribes, we, by this act, express the grateful sense of our obligation to 'the Friends,' and make fast the chain which has so long bound us together.'

Then followed the ceremony of initiation, after which the chief concluded with these words, 'We now give him the name of Sougouan,* whereby we express our sense of his character, and under which he will hereafter be recognized amongst us.' Philip E. Thomas then expressed the satisfaction he felt at this evidence of their regard and confidence, and that being now identified with their people, he should be willing to co-operate with them in any measures calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of the Seneca nation.†

About this time (1722) Pennsylvania appears to have been under great difficulties, for want of a sufficient medium, or currency, of cash, for the relief of which several proposals were

* Sougouan signifies, in the Indian language, 'The Benevolent.'
† Post's *Memoir of William Penn.*

made; and among the rest, that of *paper money*, or *paper bills of credit*, was mentioned, which occasioned considerable debate.

The Governor, Keith, was a strong advocate for a paper currency, and took great pains to promote the scheme. The people, generally, approved of it. But many who were considered as persons of most property, judgment, and weight in the province, opposed it, amongst whom was James Logan. Their objection to it was chiefly founded on the difficulty of preserving the said *currency* from depreciation; which, they observed, had, in general, occasioned mischievous and fraudulent consequences in other provinces; together with some modes, which were proposed, of issuing and conducting the same. Their opposition was not so much entirely to a *paper credit*, properly guarded and conducted, as against fraud, or those modes of forming and managing it which had been so ruinous in other places, or such as they judged would be equally pernicious, if adopted there.

In the 11th Month of 1722, when the scheme was under consideration of the Assembly, Isaac Norris and James Logan, in the name and behalf of several gentlemen and merchants, presented an address to the House protesting against it. In this important affair, the Assembly proceeded with the utmost caution and circumspection, but the result was the introduction of a paper currency, beginning with the issue of £15,000, followed by a farther sum of £30,000 on Government security.

Those who are interested in matters of this nature, will find the whole subject, as recorded by Proud, worthy a perusal. The several memorials upon it, including that presented by Norris and Logan, and other matter relating to it, will be found in chapters xxiv. and xxv. of the 2d vol.

James Logan, it would appear from the following letter, visited England in 1724, but I cannot find any mention of this occurrence elsewhere:—

JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS STORY.

'PHILADELPHIA, *25th, 8ber*, 1724.

'ESTEEMED FRIEND,—After an easy voyage of seven weeks *and two* days from London, it pleased God to restore me to

my family, whom I found all in health; but, in about three weeks after, I was visited with a severe distemper—a kind of fever, of which several died here—that brought me, in the opinion of those about me, to the brink of the grave; nor have I yet fully recovered my former state, though, through mercy, I am at present in a fairer way for it than ever.

'It was no small trouble to me, as I divers times expressed it to thee from London, that I had not the happiness to see thee there. I have not as yet treated with thy attorneys about thy house, further than to take a lease of it for three years more at the same rent, for though lands and houses were much fallen in value here before I went to England, as I particularly wrote to thee, yet our paper money makes it up, in some measure, since the last quantity was struck, and therefore I design to make no further words about it. This last voyage has rather confirmed me in trade than otherwise, and therefore I am willing to continue in the same place, having made it as convenient as I could for my business, at my own charge, as long as I shall follow it. Thou knows what I wrote to thee of a family in town, in relation to this affair, and if thou continues the same thoughts as expressed in thy answer to that letter, Edward, who is now very near out of his time with me, and who can expect but very little patrimony from his father's imprudent management, will really deserve thy regards, besides some other children that I think are all hopeful. But, be that as it will, I would still be occupant, either as tenant or otherwise, if thou shouldst resolve to sell. In the meantime I am much perplexed about repairs. My wife can no longer be reconciled to the kitchen, which, by reason of its smallness, has ever been inconvenient, but it is now so much decayed that it cannot well be otherwise mended than by a new one, which I would build in another form, and carry the yard beyond the two walnut trees, which it is a pity to cut down, though they now spread so large a top that nothing of a garden can thrive under them. But this would cost at least £100, for the pump also must be removed, and so ought the little-house; all which I would do with my own money, provided I could have a security of enjoying it at the value the house now bears, which, I assure

thee, wants more repairs within doors than I have the face to put upon a landlord. The whole with me turns upon this, that it better suits my circumstances in business to pay the rent yearly, than to part with so much as the purchase-money out of my stock. However, I shall leave the matter wholly to thyself, now I have so fully explained it, and thou may fix thy own terms, depending on it that they will be as reasonable as thou canst make them.

'Sally, besides her needle, has been learning French, and, this last week, has been very busy in the dairy at the plantation, in which she delights as well as in spinning; but is this moment at the table with me (being first-day afternoon and her mother abroad), reading the 34th Psalm in Hebrew, the letters of which she learned very perfectly in less than two hours' time—an experiment I made of her capacity only for my diversion, though I never design to give her that or any other learned language, unless the French be accounted such. She heartily thanks thee for thy kind present.

'My wife joins me in respects.—From thy affectionate friend,

'JAMES LOGAN.'

Hannah Penn having been released by death from the burdens which had so long borne her down, the correspondence was continued by her sons; to whom Logan had, in addition to many of the old grievances, a new source of uneasiness to communicate—the prodigious influx of Germans. His alarm would amuse the present generation. He wrote:—

'*27th September*, 1727.

'IN the letter which was sent last year to the Lord Halifax, of which you had a copy, mention was made of a large number of Palatines which were expected here this summer. Just now, one large ship has brought above 400 of them, and we are assured there are no less than three more at sea, whose arrival is daily expected. At this rate you will soon have a German colony here, and perhaps such a one as Britain once received from Saxony in the fifth century.'

In the next letter he says:—

'*Instead of* three ships of Palatines, there are five now ar-

rived, that is, six in the whole, with above 1200 of these foreigners. The Governor and Council, as they come in, call all the men before them, and oblige them to take an equivalent to the oath of allegiance to the King, and to promise fidelity to the proprietors of this province, to live peaceably, and to conform to our laws; a method that may have some good effect, and altogether new, for the late Governor seemed resolved to keep them as a distinct corps, in reserve for his own purposes.

'I am now informed, upon good grounds, that there are to be 6000 of these people imported hither next summer! Captain Lea is building a ship of above 600 tons for that trade. This must be prevented by an Act of Parliament, or these colonies will in time be lost to the Crown. They are a warlike and morose people. 'JAMES LOGAN.'

Amongst Logan's MS. letters preserved is the following to John Penn. The subjects to which it alludes I have not been able to ascertain. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania appear to have conceived a favourable opinion of John Penn, and had great expectations from him. He went over to the Province in 1734, but returned to England shortly after and died in 1746.

JAMES LOGAN TO JOHN PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *24th October*, 1727.

'HONOURED FRIEND,—Just now, as I was sitting down with some Friends at my house, I received thy large packet, in a box with some parchments, &c.; and, at the same time, the bearer, (son of Thomas Gouldney of Bristol), called in to take his leave, I had the box immediately opened, and have gained only time of Gabriel to read thy letter (for he is just mounting), and thus to acknowledge it.

'I congratulate thee on the issue of the law suit, but should be glad to know what becomes of the government, or what power our governor now has when thy mother is dead, and Springett cut off by the will, from which two alone he had his commission.

'The vast charges thou lays on me will require more time to answer; but pray, how can an account of the rent of the Lower

Counties be expected, when, for many years, they have refused to pay any? My heart is too full, and my time too short, to say anything further, than that I am thy oppressed but faithful friend, 'JAMES LOGAN.'

Sir William Keith was in many respects a popular Governor, and in his early career did many things for the good of the Province. He was, however, manifestly, not only in his administration, but also in his general conduct, fond of popularity. To acquire this, he did not scruple to violate his instructions from the Proprietary, which on his appointment to the Government he had obligated himself inviolably to observe. This was the cause of much party dispute. Although he ventured at last to dispense with the instructions forwarded to him from England, and to thwart the Proprietary interest, he had the support of David Lloyd and a majority of the Assembly, but was opposed by Isaac Norris, James Logan, Richard Hill, and Jonathan Dickinson.

In 1724, the dispute grew very warm, each party strongly maintaining his own side of the question. Among the arguments advanced by James Logan against the Governor's neglect of the Proprietary's instructions and that of his Council, the following are recorded by Proud:—

'There is not one word in the whole charter that directs the manner of passing bills into laws. It expressly and absolutely grants the Assembly a power to prepare bills, but without any restriction to forbid the preparing of any elsewhere. And what is yet more remarkable, in the direction of the style the word *advice* is left out, though commonly used in all acts of Parliament, and in the Acts of Assembly, in other places.

'All which clearly shows that the Proprietary's intention, in that charter, was not to bind up himself, nor Lieutenants from *advising* and *consulting* with others, in legislation. It also further shows his resolution to guard, in the language of the charter, against those, who, a little before that time, had started up, in opposition to him, and his interest, and sought to turn his kindest grants of favour to serve the unkindest *purposes* against him, that they might from thence have no

manner of just pretence against his further proceedings, in taking the best precaution he could, for his, and the country's security, during his absence.

'And, in order to this, he immediately, by letters patent, under the great seal, bearing even date with the charter, viz, October 28, 1701, established a *Council to consult and assist the Proprietary himself, or his Lieutenants, or Deputies, with the best of their advice and counsel, in public affairs, and matters relating to the Government, and to the peace, well-being and safety of the people thereof; and in the absence of the Proprietary, or upon the Lieutenant's death, or incapacity, to exercise all and singular, the powers of Government, &c.* And though he was then about to leave in the Lieutenancy a gentleman of known honour, sincerity, and integrity, viz., Andrew Hamilton, yet he obliged him, by his instructions, as he afterwards did the succeeding Governors, Colonel Evans, and Colonel Gookin, to act in all things of moment relating to the public (and surely none will exclude legislation from that list) by the *advice and approbation of the Council;* which those gentlemen, in these points, as strictly observed. And the present Governor (Keith) may remember that he not only received the like instructions with his Commission, but for some reasons, best known to those who required it, was obliged, in the penalty of £1000 sterling, to observe them; and, to leave the less room for dispute, they were also put upon record at his first arrival; which I mention only because these precautions are the first of the kind I have known, &c. 'JAMES LOGAN.'

Notwithstanding the continued remonstrance of the Secretary and others, Governor Keith strenuously maintained the debate, and persisted in his conduct against the Proprietary and his Council, till he was superseded in the Government by Patrick Gordon, in the summer of 1726.

In order to terminate the dispute, James Logan presented to the Assembly an address, in which he thus expresses himself:—

'James Logan never alleged that the Council of this Prov-

ince, under the present constitution, is a part of its legislative authority; or that, as a Council, they are otherwise concerned in it, than in conjunction with the Governor, at the board, or in committees, or conferences, by his appointment and direction; or that an act passed by the Governor and Assembly, without the Council, is not of as much force as if it had their concurrence and approbation; but even David Lloyd himself has fully acknowledged their part in it, in these words of his print, viz.:—"that he never knew any so senseless as to say, that the Governor is excluded (by law or charter) from having a Council, to advise and assist, in legislation;" beyond which no man ever asserted they have a right, in this Province.

'And whether the Proprietary can lay his Deputy under restrictions, is now rendered fully intelligible to every capacity, by the Governor himself, in reducing the case to this narrow point, viz.:—"That the greatest of Deputies can break their instructions, and that they are liable to be removed for it;" beyond which the matter will not bear a further argument.

'All other attempts, therefore, to labour these points, can only tend to continue dishonourable disputes in the Government, and engage the whole country in quarrels, that can no otherwise affect it than by involving it in reproach, and heaping provocations upon the Proprietary's family.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

Governor Keith, after being superseded, continued for some time to use every means in his power to embarrass the administration, and distress the Proprietary family. An instance of this occurs in a paper written by James Logan, in the third of 4th year of Governor Gordon's administration, and is cited in Proud's *History*. Keith, however, at length becoming 'odious to the people,' returned to England, and, it is said, died in poverty about the year 1749.

The state of the Province, under the moderate and prudent administration of Governor Gordon, was highly flourishing. During a time of general tranquillity both at home and abroad, *many wholesome* laws were made, great improvements carried

on, and trade considerably increased. After a prosperous conduct of affairs for about ten years, Gordon died in the summer of 1736. The Government now devolved upon James Logan, as President of the Council, and, whilst he held the office of Governor, the utmost harmony prevailed throughout the Province.

During the time of his Presidentship, James Logan, as well both before and after it, in conjunction with the Council, appears to have had occasion, among other things, to exert his abilities in the management of Indian affairs; among which people he had great influence. In which time, likewise, the claims of Maryland upon the Pennsylvanians, who were settled near the place where the boundary line ought to have been marked out before this time. The disturbances arising from the Government and people of Maryland on that account, gave much uneasiness and trouble to many of the inhabitants who were settled within the bounds of Pennsylvania, which subject may claim further notice shortly. But in general during Logan's administration, for about two years, the public affairs were conducted with experience and ability, though he reluctantly held the reins of Government, as is evident from the following letter:—

JAMES LOGAN TO JOHN PENN.

'1737.

'MAY IT PLEASE OUR PROPRIETOR,—Inclosed is a copy of mine, *via* Dublin, notifying our late Governor's death; which, with what occurred then, is all I had then time to mention: but now I shall proceed to other particulars, and if I use freedom in delivering my sentiments, since I believe them, from the experience I have had of things, to be founded in truth and justice, I hope a favourable construction will be put on them, for I am sure they truly deserve it. And in the first place I need not mention the necessity there is of immediately appointing another Governor, duly invested with all proper powers. Thine to me of February gave me full expectation of our having one this fall; in which, I find, we shall be disappointed.

But I assure thee, whatever the event proves, unless we are supplied next spring, at farthest, I am fully resolved to withdraw from the present insupportable burden; for I am now near entering my 63d year, much weakened in all respects, and so circumstanced that I am every way unfit for it; and I now greatly blame myself for submitting to it on the Governor's decease. But the next in standing to me being Samuel Preston, who is yet more weakened by age, and too rigidly strict in his profession for Government; and the next to him, Anthony Palmer, whom few, I suppose, would think fit for the charge, I was prevailed on to accept it, in hopes it might hold only for a few months; and, if not relieved, as I have said, I must relinquish it, let it fall where it will.

'But now, to speak freely on the subject of a successor, I have indeed been of opinion, and, accordingly, I have sometimes expressed it, that the charge and station might very well become one of your own family; and an account that we had here this past summer, that thyself had thoughts of undertaking it, proved very acceptable to the generality of those who knew thee. But this is since contradicted, and it is now said that your younger brother [Richard] is still thought of, or that, if he comes not, endeavours will be used to get your brother [Thomas], now with us, appointed. If it is so ordered, I shall very heartily wish it may prove to his own and all your satisfaction; yet I have too much reason to doubt of it. An open freedom and plainness, or an effectual appearance of it, I take to be absolutely necessary in a Governor; for it is that alone that begets a confidence in the minds of the people; and without such a confidence, no man, in such a constitution as ours, can make himself and others about him easy.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

John, however, never came. In the 4th Month, 1747, Logan refers to his death, in a letter to Thomas:—

'I loved John Penn, as he was not only thy father's son, and born in this province, in the same family of which I was then a part, but because I also knew him to be of a generous *disposition*. Judge then at my surprise, on finding that in his

will his native city was absolutely forgotten, not leaving it so much as one lot for any public building in it. The younger brother, too, has reason, in his circumstances, to be pitied.'

In 1738, the arrival of George Thomas, Esq., brought Logan a joyful release from the Presidency. Governor Thomas having strong military predilections, did not harmonize with the Assembly, and in 1747 he resigned. The chief magistracy was, at this juncture, again attempted to be put upon the shoulders of Logan, then bending under the weight of seventy-three years; but he peremptorily refused, being resolved to have some respite, that death should not find him, at the last moment of his life, entangled and oppressed with the business of this world.

In his advanced years he withdrew from Governmental trusts and the tumult of public business. Though his life had been much devoted to these, he had always felt an ardour for study, and by husbanding his leisure hours, he had found time to cultivate a taste for science. He was at length permitted to enjoy the treasures of knowledge which he had acquired, ('otium cum dignitate,' says Watson) in a truly dignified retirement at his country seat at Stenton, near Germantown, in the suburbs of Philadelphia.*

Still, however, Penn's business and official employs were occasionally pressed upon him; especially in cases of Indian

* Germantown is an ancient village, six miles northwest from Philadelphia It has no lateral streets, but is composed of dwellings, stores, taverns, and occasionally splendid mansions, extending for four or five miles on each side of the turnpike. The houses are substantially built generally of stone, and many of them still bear the quaint pent-eaves and ponderous cornices of the last century. The population may be about 2500. Many of the citizens are wealthy—having retired from business in the city—and all appear to enjoy that happy competence that results from quiet industry, uninterrupted by the excitement and expensive luxuries of a large city, but sill enjoying all the advantages of its markets. A railroad to the city affords a ready means of communication several times a day. At the southern end of the village is situated Logan's hill, the favourite country residence of James Logan, long the distinguished confidential secretary of William Penn, and eminent in the annals of the early province as a scholar and a statesman. Here he spent the latter years of his life, when his infirmities had forced him into retirement.—'*Historical Collections of Pennsylvania.*'

affairs; because in them he had merited the peculiar affection and confidence of the Indian tribes, who often visited him and remained sometime under his hospitality.

All strangers of distinction or repute who visited Philadelphia received a welcome at Logan's house. He was always the patron of ingenious men, and constantly exerted himself to procure for merit its well earned meed. Dr. Franklin experienced his protection and friendship in his early career, and it was to Logan that Godfrey first imparted his ideas of the celebrated Quadrant, which he insisted ought to bear the name of the latter instead of that of Hadely. To this further allusion will be made hereafter.

Amongst his books at Stenton, Logan at last enjoyed that leisure in which men of letters so much delight. He was well versed in both ancient and modern learning, acquainted with the oriental tongues, a master of the Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages; deeply skilled in the mathematics and in natural and moral philosophy; as several pieces of his own writing, in Latin, &c., demonstrate; some of which have gone through divers impressions, and are highly esteemed; and he held an extensive correspondence with the most distinguished literary characters of Europe.

In 1728, he met with the injury of a limb which maimed him for life, and confined him long to his home. He there endeavoured to fortify his mind, like Cicero before him, in cultivating the best feelings of old age, by keeping his mind and attachments young and cheerful. To this end he translated Cicero's excellent treatise, *De Senectute* into English, accompanied with explanatory notes. This work was published in 1744, and was erroneously imputed to Benjamin, afterwards Dr. Franklin, who was only the printer. 'This fact,' observes Watson in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, 'may be seen demonstrated at large in my MS. *Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, p. 322.' Dr. Franklin, did, however, write a preface or encomium for the Philadelphia edition, which he concludes with these memorable words:—'I shall add to these few lines my hearty wish, that this first translation of a *classic in this western world*, may be followed with many others, and

be a happy omen, that Philadelphia shall become the seat of the American muses.'

In the following letter, Logan makes allusion to the accident he had received. Whilst it speaks of his increasing infirmities, it intimates also upon what he based his chief happiness.

JAMES LOGAN TO SIMON CLEMENT, UNCLE OF HANNAH PENN.

'PHILADELPHIA, *May* 17, 1729.

'DEAR FRIEND,—Thy tender and affectionate lines of the 8th October last, by Capt. Pearce, being the marks of a real friendship, which ever displays itself most in attending on the more gloomy circumstances of life, were extremely obliging. My disaster is indeed uncommon, and such as I believe very few of the most experienced chirurgeons ever knew an instance of; that, by a fall from my feet only, the head of my thigh bone, close to its insertion, should be entirely broken off; while the place I fell on, which was above a hand's breadth below the point of the trochanter, received no hurt, nor was the flesh or skin so much as discoloured. Yet it swelled very much for some days, and was exceedingly painful in other parts, especially towards the groin, where the round head lay broke off in the socket. And this swelling made it impossible to guess at the true ail. Nor, though it had been known, do I think it was by any means to be cured; since if the broken parts were any way started from each other, no surgeon could come at them so as to be sure he had set them again; nor could I have lived without so much motion in that part, as would have continually endangered their parting. But however that might have proved, it is certain I put myself under no restraint of that kind, but, to ease the pain, sought for a variety of postures. In about seven weeks' time I was able to bear that limb to hang without resting on the floor, and by that means was capable of using crutches. But I never knew any true ailment till about November last; when my brother, in a letter from Bristol, from a description I had given him of my condition, told me of my mistake in imagining the looseness of that bone was owing

to a relaxation of the great muscle by the blow, which I supposed had disabled the principal nerve of that muscle.

'For these twelve months past it is certain I am much weaker, yet should be very easy in my mind, could I be freed from other people's business, and left to amuse myself with no other care on me than what my family absolutely requires. Having a true helpmate, children not undutiful, and a plantation within five miles of this town, to which I am retiring this summer, I believe if I were troubled with nothing but what really concerns me, notwithstanding I have had much greater losses, since I received this hurt, than in all my life before, I should be able to have my family tolerably supported, and be helpful to my children in their education. For it is my greatest happiness in this condition, that with the advantages already mentioned, I am naturally, or by long habit, disposed, for which I am deeply thankful, to account a solid, inward peace of mind, and the enjoyments of myself, by reducing my own thoughts to bear some proportion to the beautiful order conspicuous in all the outward objects of the natural creation, to be the only basis of a real felicity. And for a variety, I would amuse myself with some small entertainments from science; for, in Dryden's words, which have always affected me, I take it to be very true that "knowledge and innocence is perfect joy." But the greatest of all is that happy union of the soul with its Maker, which I truly believe to be the *summum bonum*—the true perfection of man—and for which alone he was formed.

'But the great hinderance to these enjoyments are those unhappy affairs to which I have been tied down for many years past, and which, I may truly say, notwithstanding I divested myself of all the profits that should attend them, solely with a view to be eased of them (as I too largely mentioned to thee in my letters the former winter), have taken up much more of my time than all my own affairs put together; though it is only by the latter that I must maintain my family. Nor should I again repeat it, but that I am much more sensibly affected with the thought that the family still depend on me, when I *am so* incapable of doing my own, that I am obliged to put it

all into the hands of others. I have sometimes thought of begging leave of thy cousins to die when my time comes, since no other disability, not even this surprising providence, will avail to discharge me. And this is the more astonishing, after I have so fully represented the case of this country, that it is impossible to settle the proprietary affairs without one of thy kinsmen, especially John's, coming over, to view and judge of the state of their lands in person; and from thence to agree on the measures that are to be taken; since none here will undertake to set a price on the lands that are to be granted. Were John indeed under any engagements that could not be broken, or were he not of years the most proper for any business or action, or were not the trustees whose service is expected of such advanced years, as that their age alone obliges them to study their own quiet, there might be some more tolerable excuse for his declining to come. But when all that I have now said is considered, with the present extreme confusion of those affairs, which call aloud for a speedy hand to redress them, it will appear truly unaccountable to any rational man, why other measures should not immediately be resolved on.

'I have now, as always, been very plain with thy cousins; and, as I doubt not but thou wilt see my letter, I beg thee to press it. I have, in an expression or two of this, been too free, perhaps; but my thoughts are extremely disturbed; and if I cannot be otherwise released than by my death, it will be cruel to my family; since I may yet be useful to them, by that instruction, which, to youth, is above all other things useful and most necessary; and, with assisting grace, most advantageous.

'I hope, my dear friend, thou wilt excuse the freedoms I have used, and doubt not thou wilt make the best use of them. I still keep my appetite, and sleep tolerably, though I move but very little. In all conditions I am, with great sincerity, thy affectionate and obliged friend, 'JAMES LOGAN.'

The present scanty materials which have been collected together as memorials of James Logan, must be brought to a

conclusion by extracts from a few letters and papers written towards the close of his life. To some they may appear, from lapse of time added to their incompleteness, to possess little or no interest in the present day, but it is hoped they may form a nucleus for some future and more complete memoir, of a man whose memory was not destined to be lost in oblivion.

Many of the subsequent letters are to and from Thomas Story, the intimate friend of James Logan, whose name has already appeared several times in these papers. Although a well known character amongst Friends, the following particulars relative to him, are due to those less acquainted with him.

Thomas Story was an eminent preacher amongst Friends. His ministry was very convincing and edifying, so that he was acknowledged, not only by the Society of which he was a member, but by other people, *as a truly evangelical minister*. He was brought up in profession with the Church of England; and having studied for the law, practised in Carlisle, and subsequently in London. Being from his youth inclined to piety, he examined closely into the doctrines of several sects, and eventually became convinced that the principles of Quakerism accorded with those of the New Testament, and he espoused them.

In 1698, he accompanied William Penn and John Everot in a religious visit to Friends in Ireland, and in the same year he embarked for America, believing it his duty to pay a religious visit to his Friends in that country. Being solicited by William Penn to take up his residence in Philadelphia, to assist in settling the affairs of the province of Pennsylvania, and reducing them to order, he remained in America fourteen years. He was appointed one of the Governor's council, keeper of the great seal, master of the rolls, and one of his commissioners of property for special purposes, besides the office of recorder for the city of Philadelphia, &c. In 1706, he was also chosen mayor of the city, but declined to accept the office. During his residence in America he paid frequent religious visits to Friends, in different parts of that continent, and to the West Indian Islands. In his passage from Jamaica *to Philadelphia*, the vessel he was in was taken by a French

privateer, and carried into Martinico, where he and the ship's company, except in losing their goods and clothes, were kindly and hospitably treated. After some stay there, they got a passage to Guadaloupe, and thence in a flag of truce to Antigua. In 1714 he passed again to Barbadoes, and thence returned to England, where he continued his gospel labours, in a successive course of travelling in the various quarters of the British Islands. His last journey was in 1740, and he departed this life at Carlisle, in 1742, aged near eighty; a minister about fifty years. His funeral was attended by a great number of Friends from several parts of the country, and also by many people of the neighbourhood, who were deeply affected with the loss of a man so valuable and useful to his country in several stations of life.

JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS STORY.

'STENTON, near GERMANTOWN, 22*d*, 10*ber*, 1730.

'I AM extremely pleased with thy account of the progress of Truth in Scotland. It will, I believe, and must [prevail] everywhere. Tyndal's last wicked book will, I imagine, make very great way for it; for as man has naturally a propensity to religion, and will have some, he will find none other left for him than the spiritual. But I apprehend terrible persecution first, which perhaps may be necessary to render those possessed of [ecclesiastical] power more odious. I mean universally. I was much pleased with A. Arscott's little piece, which we (brother Pemberton and I) are reprinting here. I am with dear love, thy real friend, 'JAMES LOGAN.'

THOMAS STORY TO JAMES LOGAN.

'CARLISLE, 2*d Month*, 5*th*, 1731.

'THINGS remain well in Scotland, and I hope will continue and [Friends] increase, our meetings being still crowded in Edinburgh, &c. Attempts have been of late made in Parliament against some part of the interest of the clergy, and Friends have been secretly moving for further ease against their destructive proceedings in the Exchequer, but some particulars are given to understand that this time is not

thought seasonable for anything of that kind, when so much industry is used to infuse into the populace a jealousy and dislike of the present establishment. Yet it plainly appears that many in this nation, of all ranks, are falling in with us in our sentiments respecting the clergy and tithes, and are not remote from our way of thinking, concerning the principles of Truth we profess, but stumble at what they call our particularities and narrowness, for which they in their reason cannot account or conceive how these should be a necessary effect of that. Tyndal's book or Alexander's I have not seen, but heard of, under as differing characters as they arise from springs and views. But why may not the grand adversary of human kind be permitted to advance his whole power and cunning in defence of himself and kingdom, now drawing to a period, that all nations may see him fully and fairly conquered by the power, wisdom, and brightness of the coming and appearance of Michael the Prince. These things are no surprise to me at all; though, as thou apprehends, it is not improbable that some sharp persecution may precede, of which (if not averted in mercy) the clergy of all sorts will be the chief instruments, and trumpeters of Satan to the fatal battle. Fatal, I say, not to religion, but as a final period and demolition of that which hath been called so, under various shapes, but falsely. Thy sincere friend, 'THOMAS STORY.'

Thomas Story evinced much interest in the children of his friend James Logan, though not personally acquainted with them. He sent them occasional presents as tokens of his regard, which were mutually exchanged. The following appears to have been written on an occasion of this kind:—

THOMAS STORY TO SARAH LOGAN, JUN.

'LONDON, *4th Month*, 28*th*, 1734.

'RESPECTED FRIEND, SARAH LOGAN, JUN.,—It is a long time since I was agreeably favoured with a specimen of thy early ingenuity, and some of the first fruits of it, in a present sent me through the medium of thy father, which was very acceptable, and justly admired as the work of a person so young, and

becoming much riper years, with long practice and experience. And though other matters have interposed and suspended my intentions so long, yet I have not forgot the obligation; and now, though late, make my acknowledgments, desiring that some small tokens of my respects (which I hope will come safe to thy father's hands with this) may be acceptable. And that all goodness and happiness may attend thee to the end, through every scene of this uncertain life, and crown thy last with a blessed immortality, is the sincere wish of thy loving though unacquainted friend, 'THOMAS STORY.'

SARAH LOGAN, JUN.'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

'ESTEEMED FRIEND,—About three months since, I was favoured with thy kind letter by our worthy friend Joseph Gill, in which thou wast pleased to remember a small piece of my childish performance, and to retaliate it to a great excess with a valuable present, for which I wish it lay in my power to make a suitable return; but as from this country, in my situation, it does not, I can now only make my acknowledgments, not forgetting at the same time a handsome shagreen case, with knife, fork, and spoon, that my father brought me as from thee, when last in England, for all which, as I am bound in gratitude, I return thee my very hearty thanks, and am, with kind respects, thy much obliged friend,

'SARAH LOGAN, JUN.'

'STENTON, 14*th*, 9*ber*, 1734.'

THOMAS STORY'S REPLY TO SARAH LOGAN, JUN.

'LONDON, 11*th Month*, 21*st*, 1734.

'DEAR FRIEND,—As thy father was pleased to mediate between thee and me, in handing me thy very acceptable letter of the 14th, 9ber last, I don't doubt but that he will likewise this acknowledgment of it, which I kindly accept as a full return at least, to those little things sent with my last, which, in my own account, were due to a former and early favour, and can assure thee that it is a pleasure to me to know from thyself that they are acceptable, having no view or desire of

any other return than the friendship I observe in such agreeable lines from an innocent and virtuous mind.

'That Heaven may preserve thee, my dear friend, and by the sweet Divine dew thereof from above, daily descending upon thy tender heart, increase and furnish thy mind with all sweetness, goodness, understanding, and knowledge of the true God and Divine things, which as it is the greatest blessing I can wish for thee, so I sincerely do.

'Thy affectionate, loving friend, though I may never see thee in this world, 'THOMAS STORY.'

THOMAS STORY TO JAMES LOGAN.

'LONDON, 11*th Month*, 21, 1734.

'ESTEEMED FRIEND, JAMES LOGAN,—Though I have not written, nor had any letters from thee these several years, I have not altogether forgotten the duty of friendship to thee and thine, which prompts me on this favourable occasion (by our valued friend, Jos. Gill, now going to visit your parts) to salute thee and them with these few lines and sincere respects.

'And remembering, as I have often done, the present made me long ago from thy daughter Sarah, as some of the first-fruits of her early genius, which I have not hitherto acknowledged to herself, though often intended, I now beg leave that I may do so in some small returns, which I hope will be granted And, as her acceptable token, when so young, was presented to me through thy hands, I think the same method most proper in what I now send her, intended to be sent hence, in a box, to-morrow towards Bristol, to our friend J. G., aforesaid. [The articles are then particularized.]

'I have been, for the most part, travelling for three years, and greatest part of the two last winters here in this city, where, as also in the nation, the principle of Truth takes generally with the brightest geniuses, though the state and works it would lead to are too much yet awanting. But, as men must first see before they can act with judgment, I am not in despair of a more general reformation in time, that is, of Him who doth in heaven and earth what and when he pleaseth, and *can turn* the hearts of nations as the streams of water. Three

sorts of people at this day mainly oppose the life of the Son of God, the Saviour of the world:—the wicked, immoral, and profane; the false teachers, kept up by human power and wisdom, who, by their late endeavours, seem bent upon excluding the Spirit of Christ out of his church, and advancing the letter, or rather their own notions under that pretence, and their own power and glory; and the Deists, who despise the priests, as designing and insincere men, yet not knowing the Divine essential truth in themselves, the guide of mankind in all things. The latter increase in number, and, as they are despisers of priestcraft, and subtile in reasoning, they may be subservient to its overthrow, and much more so when enlightened by the Divine truth. 'THOMAS STORY.'

JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS STORY.

'PHILADELPHIA, 16*th of* 9*th Month*, 1734.

'RESPECTED FRIEND, T. S.,—Having for some days past been here, despatching a ship for London that I am concerned in, or more properly my letters by her, my daughter sent this unsealed, and therefore I make use of this blank page for saving of postage, to acknowledge the receipt of thy very kind letter by Joseph Gill, as also, in my wife's name, thy present to her of some silk stockings, as I remember; but whatever it was, it came in good order, was carefully delivered, and thy old friend very kindly accepts of them. The girl speaks for herself, as well as she can, I suppose, but thou hast really been too generous to them. I have four children now all with me, who, I think, generally take more after their mother than me, which, I am sure, thou wilt not dislike in them; yet, if they had more of a mixture, it might be of some use to them, to bring them through the world. And it sometimes gives me an uneasy thought, that my considerable collection of Greek and Roman authors, with others in various languages, will not find an heir in my family to use them as I have done; but, after my decease, must be sold or squandered away. But this is not in human power to remedy; and, therefore, I must be content and thankful they appear not vicious, and of the girls I think I may truly say they are discreet. Had I not forgotten thy letter at home, I should have been larger, but I must now desire this

may excuse me, who with sincere good wishes for thy happiness, am thy affectionate friend,' 'JAMES LOGAN.'

THOMAS STORY TO JAMES LOGAN.

'LONDON, 11*th Month*, 21*st*, 1734.

'RESPECTED FRIEND,—I take this first opportunity that presents, to acknowledge the receipt of thy frank letter of 16th 9th Month last, which is satisfactory on several accounts; I am glad to know thereby, that my very dear friend, thy wife, and all your children, are well, and hopeful in the better part; and that those little things were acceptable to her, as directed, in which I meant no other than as a token of my remembrance, and of the respect I owe her. I perceive thou art apprehensive thy children inherit the qualities of their mother more than thy own; and thy sentiments of the satisfaction I would reap by the knowledge of it are very right; for, as her person was amiable, I looked upon it as the figure of her mind—full of sweetness, innocence, and virtue; and think I perceive much of that in thy daughter, by her letter, though wholly a stranger to her person, only have heard she is comely and agreeable.

'As to the inaptitude of all thy family of succeeding thee in such satisfaction as thou hast reaped in thy acquaintance with books and languages, thou wilt be easy in that, if it be possible for thee to consider, that these things are generally speculative, and so barren as to us, that they cannot afford us one morsel for support of a short uncertain life in this teazing world, or much help towards a better. If, then, we have so much understanding and application as to conduct ourselves with honesty and safety, as respects bread and clothes, and pursue the rule of grace, and virtue to the end, we shall not miss, at last, of a safe conduct to that haven which, I doubt not, we all aim at in our most solemn thoughts. Yet I am no enemy to learning, though I have but little of it; that field affording great variety for contemplation, and much delight to the mind therein. But, as I have read chiefly in those small glimpses of the Divine Being, I have been mercifully favoured with, in the face of the Son of God, and His attributes, Divine, moral, and personal, He hath not left me quite ignorant of the knowledge *of His works*, which are indeed stupendous and amazing,

even the least of them, rightly viewed. Yet I have nothing to boast of but His mercy and goodness in the whole course of His providence hitherto. The little peep I have had into the records of time by my scanty literature and want of proper opportunity for more, furnishes me only with a satisfaction in the general view of the conduct of the world from the beginning of it unto this time; though the greatest part of the particulars have escaped my notice. To conclude, then, I may have been as happy all this time, and so may thy children, and may remain and end so, circumstanced as I am and have been, some cross occurrences in life, and these too not unuseful, excepted, even as him, whoever he may be, if any, that may have a kind of omniscience in human things; and so may any other of a capacity lower than mine. But where am I run—— I now return from *thee* to thyself and family—(if thou canst make sense of this); and, in that love which engageth me to wish all happiness to thee and thine in this life and that which is to come, conclude this from thy very loving friend,'

'THOMAS STORY.'

THOMAS STORY TO JAMES LOGAN.

'LONDON, 12*th Month*, 20*th*, 1735.

'JAMES LOGAN, DEAR FRIEND,—My last to thee was of the 21st of 11th Month, 1734, since which I have not had any from thee; so that all the [information] I have had concerning the welfare of thyself and family has arisen from my inquiries of such persons as have come from Pennsylvania, and that as often as occasion has offered. I wish thee and them heartily well, and therefore send my inquiries hereby, having so good an opportunity, by thy nephew Pemberton, whose conduct has gained him reputation.

'I have not many occurrences to relate concerning public affairs, only the face of Europe looks much more serene and amiable than last year, which may the almighty and all-wise Creator and Governor of all things increase and establish. The Parliament is now sitting, and we are preparing to apply for further ease with respect to tithes, but our success seems very dubious, though many seem to pay regard to the priests

now, as the Indians do to their Hoccomocco, to escape their mischief, and they will reign on in dominion till our SUPERIORS be inspired from above with greater courage and resolution, which seems to be the greatest want, in order to humble the pride, and break the dangerous power, of an antichristian hierarchy.

'As to the state of our Society, as a religious people, it is but low at present everywhere. The life of the Word of God is too little known, and less obeyed amongst us. Too many who have received the doctrines and traditions of our profession in their heads, are yet ignorant of the prevailing power and virtue of it in their hearts, which is also the case with thousands in other persuasions in this great city and nation, and in others who are not yet come to profess openly with us. Yet we have still a truly religious, well-experienced, and grown people among us, and the Lord is likewise adding here and there a few into our profession, in open communion with us. I was down in Cornwall and those parts [last summer], where there is great openness. About forty had been convinced near Austle not long before, and some of them had stood nobly in testimony against the priests and their antichristian demands and maintenance. Having been through divers counties, and at several country Yearly Meetings, and in sundry cities and towns, I observe there is a general inclination, in all sorts and ranks of people, to hear us, and behave with friendly sobriety and respect. This is so far well, yet much short of what we mean in religion; that real renovation of the mind by the quickening power and life of the Word of God, which I hope is invisibly proceeding (though it be by slow degrees) in many souls. And some are publicly added to us, lately, in some part of the east of Cumberland and Northumberland. I have had a letter from a friend lately, that there is a gentleman and his family, of good reputation and estate, that way, and six or seven families more already joined with us, and it is thought about twenty heads of families more are ready to do the same. And a good openness still remains at Edinburgh.

'As to myself, I am still transient, not seeing any place of

settlement unto this time, but have wintered here in London three or four winters last past, making it the centre of my travels, which have been pretty constant for some years; and am favoured with a good share of health, my natural strength not much abated, for which I [have occasion to be thankful].

'I have not been so far north as Cumberland for several summers, but may this coming one; for I have (for my diversion and amusement at leisure times) raised there many sorts of forest plants, and divers American exotics, which I chiefly value, still retaining an affectionate remembrance for that part of the world, and wishing you well; and thee and thy family being at this time in a particular manner in my view, I salute you in love, especially the mother and first daughter, and remain as ever, thy and your real loving friend,

'THOMAS STORY.'

'P.S.—I was at Bristol last fall, where, with A. Arscott, I spent an evening to satisfaction with Dr. Logan. He is in esteem there, and he and spouse were very frank and hearty.'

JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS STORY.

'STENTON, *5th Month* 12*th*, 1736.

'DEAR FRIEND,—I was some weeks since favoured with thine of the 12th Month 20th last, and designed by [earlier] opportunity from hence to have answered it, but being straitened for time, I desired our friend, Josiah Martin, to excuse me to thee, and at the same time to deliver thee one of three copies I enclosed to him of a late [publication issued] here, which I hope thou wilt have received long before this come to hand. If so, I would request thee seriously to consider it, and to give me thy sentiments upon it, I mean of the subject, and not of my performance, for that is a matter of indifference to me. But if, as thy last hints, thou had gone to the north before that ship's arrival, and because of the postage it has not been sent to thee, being somewhat too bulky, for that kind of conveyance, though not exceeding three sheets, I shall only inform thee in this that it is a Charge I gave the grand jury at a court of Oyer and Terminer, at Philadelphia, in April, which

I then intended should be the last from me; but as the Government cannot yet find another to fill my place, I cannot at present say how it may prove. But to mount a bench on crutches, which I have now done for these five years past, and to pass sentence of death, gives me a real uneasiness, which neither the present salary of £100 a year, of our currency, can, nor a much greater could, compensate to satisfaction.

'What is delivered in that Charge, I know does, and must generally please, or at least under the limitations mentioned in the advertisement;* for there is the purity of natural and rational religion, and within that I purposely confined my discourse. But what I would crave thy sentiments upon is, *how far thou thinks what is mentioned there, if strictly adhered to, will reach, without further knowledge or instruction*; for this is a point that, under the Christian dispensation, I confess I know not how to answer, yet I shall never enter into disputes upon the subject. I desire thee only to take the whole, as I said, seriously into consideration, as there laid down; that is, *that the Creator at first furnished man with strong natural inclinations to lead him into the practice of all the social virtues.* I call them *natural*, because *universally* implanted in the species; but by a *perverse use* of *his free will* he became corrupted, yet there are still sufficient *remains* of that primitive *splendour*, as it is there called, which, if duly cultivated, may yet lead him to happiness.

'It is fit I should inform thee that in forming that discourse, I framed not nor proposed to myself any manner of hypothesis. I had nothing further in view than at my quitting that station to say something usefully instructive and edifying to the people; and though I was to be in court, as I was, on the 2d day before noon, I had not the preceding First day morning so much as resolved what the particular subject should be, which I mention only to show how far I was from all previous intention of advancing any singular opinions. The common way of talking on these subjects has been, that *reason is the great guide*, and I confess it may be a great one; but I

* The notice preceding the Charge.

am fully persuaded, that without the *concurrence*, and even the *leading* of the *affections, reason contributes very little to virtue;* it *distinguishes*, and, *when not too much biassed, decides;* but it rarely incites. This is the *work of the heart*, and, I am convinced of it, was so intended *in our formation.* But then, if this be *natural*, where is the *divinity* of it, otherwise than as it is the work of the Creator? I say, again, this is a point beyond my reach, and there I must leave it.

'But I shall further acquaint thee that, for several months past, I have been on a *Treatise of all the duties of man as founded in nature;* and these words will fully show thee that I am to consider them only *philosophically*, without a view to any profession of religion whatever. Last winter I sent over the first chapter of it to Peter Collinson and Josiah Martin, with orders to Peter, to whom I am more obliged than to any man there, for his diligence in obliging me in what I want, not to be free in communicating it, yet I now wish I had thought of and mentioned thee; but I never consider thee as a resident in London.

'In the spring I also sent my brother in Bristol the fourth chapter *On the affections and passions*, in which I have gone an unusual depth into anatomical inquiries; and for this reason have desired it may be communicated to some of the principal physicians about London, particularly to Dr. Mead, who may find in it some things not unworthy of his closest attention. There are others in the same chapter that I wish thou couldst see, and particularly what is said of natural conscience, which, I believe, will appear new to thee.

'As to the progress of *True Religion*, I am persuaded it will gain ground; but tyranny in church and state is so established in most parts, that, without a general concussion and revolution, it cannot greatly obtain; for, while that grand article *obedience*, the principal foundation of the Church of Rome, together with the power of punishing, subsists, I have a very slender prospect of any great progress to be made short of what I have mentioned.

'My family, through mercy, are all in health, and give their kind love to thee. My younger daughter now in all respects

equals the elder, save in years, being both, I think, exactly of a height, and they are now much what their mother was when thou left her, though she, thou may be sure, is very different in her person, yet in her better part she continues much the same, as also does thy real loving friend,

'JAMES LOGAN.'

The Charge alluded to in the foregoing letter, was first printed in Philadelphia, in 1736, and republished in London the following year. The matter it contains is deemed of so excellent a nature as to be worthy of being recorded here, with the following notice which was appended to it.

'If any into whose hands this Charge may fall, should think it a defect that there is no mention made in it of religion, they are desired to consider that government, laws, and courts, are of civil institution, founded on the laws of nature, and the dictates of reason; these, therefore, as their original, were only proper to be mentioned here. And those who will firmly lay these first principles, which are perfectly agreeable with, and truly a part of the Divine law, for a foundation to their religion, will find their further professions both more satisfactory to themselves, and more convincing to the rest of mankind.'

THE CHARGE

DELIVERED FROM THE BENCH

TO THE GRAND INQUEST,

AT A COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER, AND GENERAL JAIL DELIVERY, HELD FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 13, 1736,

BY THE HON. JAMES LOGAN, ESQ.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

'GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND JURY,—You are returned to this court of Oyer and Terminer, and now duly qualified, according to law, to inquire, in behalf of our sovereign Lord the King, and for the body of this city and county of Philadelphia, into

all such crimes, committed within the same, as by the laws of this province are capital, or punishable with death; and not only into those, but also into such others as, being of the same nature, might in a higher degree become capital, though, by varying in circumstances or in the intention, they may not come up to that height of malignity which, in the judgment of the Legislature, deserves that last of punishments that can be inflicted in this world; all which shall be severally named and explained to you, for your better direction. But, before I proceed to this, not knowing whether after this court I may ever speak from this place again, I shall here enter more deeply into the subject.

'The reason and necessity for erecting these courts is clearly understood by all, to be for the punishment of those grand offences which, being altogether inconsistent with society, it was found absolutely necessary, for the security of mankind, that positive laws should be provided against them. But, since these only direct the process and punishment, but show not the rise of such offences, and because the commission of every crime, that is not wholly involuntary, springs first from some inward taint, some wrong bias or perversion of the inclinations, and that it is of the utmost concern to us, for the better regulating of our conduct, to have the clearest notions and strongest impressions made on our minds of the first principles on which our duties in society are founded, I shall, as clearly and concisely as I can, and on the surest evidences, endeavour to point out whence it is these first principles are originally derived. In which, if in the plainest manner I speak to your own reason and consciences, and to the sentiments you will find rise in your own breasts in concurrence with what is offered (I include all who hear me), I have hopes that by these thoughts, from this internal approbation in yourselves, becoming wholly your own, you will, by gradually cultivating and improving them, not only reap the solacing fruits of peace and tranquillity in yourselves, but they may so powerfully influence and direct you as to render you useful members in society, promoters of the good of mankind, discharging your several respective duties, not only towards yourselves and families,

but generally, to all your neighbours, your community, and your country, in all the various relations in life. A character so lovely that, on but hearing it named, you cannot but feel the force of an interior affection rising with it, approving and testifying it to be the most amiable, the most desirable of all others, and worthy in itself of the closest endeavours and most serious application to retain.

'Now, for the first advances towards this we need only cast our eyes on the several parts of the creation, the works of nature around us; in all which we may discover the most perfect arrangement in every the minutest part, and the most beautiful order reigning in the disposition of the whole. The luminaries duly and constantly performing their courses; the seasons of the year regularly returning; the earth, so formed within land that, even in the greatest continents, there shall be a continual descent for the rivers and streams, to water the grounds in their courses towards the ocean; moisture incessantly exhaled, that it may descend in dews and rains for the same purpose, that is, to render the earth fruitful; all the vegetable kinds, grass, herbs, plants, and trees, rising from their small seeds, and variously blossoming and bearing their proper fruits, and destined altogether for the support or shelter of animals, or such other important uses.

'And, again, in animals; the difference of sexes, these sexes duly meeting, procreating, and continuing their own species, all in their several ways; the wonderful provision made for the production of their young, and raising them with the food they well know how to find and choose, most proper for their digestion and nurture. Briefly, every creature in its place acting steadily, and unerringly pursuing its end, by respective instincts implanted in it by our general parent nature, operating under the great Author of all, the Supreme Divine Being.

'And all these beautiful scenes, this perfect order in those productions of nature, the works of the most consummate wisdom, subjects of endless contemplation, lie open to the view and consideration of us all; they require no skill, no intense study to discover them, but are obvious to every capacity, to

all degrees of understanding, and in the whole and every the minutest part, are the just objects of our admiration.

'Man, only man, a creature more wonderfully framed than any of these, endowed with a capacity to discover, to view, and contemplate this beautiful order; to argue from effects to causes, to trace these up to their original, to weigh and compare actions, gifted with speech for conversation and society, enabled to invent, to contrive, for the expediency, the use, and pleasures of life, to penetrate into the depths of science. This creature man, I say, our own species man, exorbitates and runs into disorder and wild confusion, of which he alone is the only instance throughout the whole creation. And shall we, or can we believe, that this part of the same great Author's works, he who is able by his knowledge and skill so far to supply his want of bodily strength as to subdue the whole, and, as far as is necessary, to subject and render them subservient to his use and pleasures, shall we, or can we believe, I say, that he was thus finished off to be the only exception, the sole contradiction to order in this beautiful system? No, we cannot; and if we were no otherwise informed, our reason alone would strongly suggest to us that, on his part, there has been some great degeneracy, some grievous deflexion from our original rectitude, owing to a violent abuse of that great gift, free will, bestowed on us with our reason; and, on a closer inspection into ourselves, we may manifestly discover the case to be thus:—

'As the great Creator, by his handmaid nature, fixed in all other creatures certain instincts, which are laws so compulsively binding that they cannot transgress them, so he was pleased, likewise, in man to implant such natural inclinations and impulses as, if duly attended to, should direct us in all things for the best; that is, to a regular discharge of our duties, for answering the end of our creation, the honour of our Author, and our own happiness. Yet these were not to compel, as the case is with those instincts in other animals, but to point out and incline only; and reason, by which we were exalted above all the other parts of the creation that we know, was given for a further director; that, by comparing

the several kinds and degrees of good, which is the only object of our best affections, we might prefer the one and reject the others. But those appetites and passions, the chief objects of which are bodily pleasures, by our degeneracy not only became inordinate, but got the mastery, and usurped dominion; the calmer and milder affections were deadened and stifled, and even the powers of reason seduced, and gradually wrought over to join with its enemies those irregular passions. And thus disorder entered, and confusion exceedingly prevailed; of the dire effects of which we see but too many flagrant instances.

'Yet it may justly be our consolation, and with the humblest gratitude we are to acknowledge, that human nature is not so altogether sunk and depraved, nor those nobler impressions inclining us to the love of truth, of justice, and benevolence, and the other virtues, so far extinguished and defaced, but that they have sufficient force to exert themselves in every breast where any tolerable degree of innocence has been yet preserved, to bring forth all those excellent fruits that yield the only solid comfort, and are the true ornament, the beauty of civil life. Men, we see, are no more deficient now than ever in natural affection, in those nearer relations of the conjugal tie, or the parental, and divers others. And if every one who hears this will but turn his eye inward on himself, he will find, and greatly to his own satisfaction find, a real pleasure arising from the contemplation of a virtuous action.

'Can any man hear or read an account of a person choosing to suffer death himself, rather than to betray his friend who had intrusted him; of one witnessing his gratitude to a benefactor, even at the expense of the greatest hazards or losses to himself; of one distressed by poverty, yet returning a deposit to the children or heirs of a departed friend, when there was no living evidence to prove it; of anger, justly incensed, melting into compassion on the view of others' misery, though perhaps merited: or, in relation to the public, of men serving it faithfully, and sacrificing their lives for the honour and safety of their country? Can any man, I say, hear the narrative of these, or of others of the innumerable instances of such like *virtuous actions*, that, through all the great degeneracy of

mankind, have been met with, without feeling in themselves, not only an entire approbation and esteem for such a conduct, but a pleasure rising with it in their hearts, not to be equalled by reflections on any representations of those transient pleasures, the common objects of men's pursuits? The reflection on these is dead, and dull, and palling; but those others fill and delight the soul, in persons not distempered in their minds, as the most suitable food does a healthful stomach. And wherever there appears no sense of this, no esteem for truth, no inclination to the practice of justice, benevolence, fidelity, compassion, gratitude, those fundamental principles that nature has deeply rooted in human beasts, to be the basis and main pillars of society, the great springs of all the sweets and endearing ties of life, it is a most sure indication that their minds are no less depraved, and their whole moral sense no less corrupted, than that the stomach is vitiated which can neither digest nor receive any food that is wholesome.

'And still, to show the greater force of these, and what provision there is made for them in the internal constitution, it is observable, that scarcely any man, in his senses, was ever yet found so profligate, so abandoned and lost, to all sense and inward feeling, as to own he had none of those principles, to acknowledge he was influenced by malice, however his actions proclaimed it; or that he was intentionally guilty of injustice, without pretending some alleviating excuse; or of calumny or falsehood, however directly they might be proved on him; so strong are those impressions, so powerful the evidences planted within us on the side of virtue, that even, in the most vicious, there is still something to witness for it; and shame, though conscience should for a time be stifled, will exert itself to restrain the open profession.

'Nor can this, in any measure, be owing to what those who have, as far as in them lies, eradicated all the better principles, and laid conscience to sleep, would pretend to impute it, namely, to an agreement only amongst the politicians of the world, to exalt the name of virtue, and impress terrors, as a tie on conscience, for the mutual safety of society. For the contrary of this has in all ages appeared, and amongst none

in clearer terms than the heathens or Gentiles themselves; those who had no other instructor than the dictates of reason, with the lively sparks of that splendour yet remaining in their consciences, the beautiful relics of those signatures of rectitude originally sealed upon their hearts. From these they pronounced those excellent sayings, and published those admirable doctrines and incitements to virtue that, to this day, are, by the strictest professors of religion, held so highly in esteem,* and these, if duly hearkened to, will yet surmount all the oppositions of vice. For,

'Let every man try his own heart, and examine whether he finds not there a concurrence with these great truths—that justice, or the giving every one his right; benevolence, or a charitable disposition towards our neighbours, and a complacency in their welfare; fidelity in discharging trusts; compassion to the afflicted; gratitude to benefactors, all which are the immediate fruits of that, first of all the affections, love, with such like, afford a solid pleasure, and diffuse peace over the soul, and create a nobler satisfaction than all sensual gratifications whatever. If this, then, is found to be the case, and their preference in real worth be acknowledged, all must own they are equally worth the utmost study—the most strenuous endeavours—to cultivate and improve them.

'You who are concerned in agriculture take care to have noxious weeds rooted out, the soil prepared, and to commit to it the best seeds of corn and grass, and to nourish, and by all means in your power to promote, their growth and increase. And must we not all own that it much more highly concerns us, and is of infinitely greater importance, to nourish those seeds implanted in us, by the Divine hand, in our formation,

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* This is farther remarkable, that even those very men who deny, or labour to overset all such interior principles, never fail, in their commerce with the rest of mankind, as rigorously to exact from them, and as strenuously to insist on a strict observance of the rules of honour, the only true basis of which is virtue, and of the ties of conscience, in cases where the law has made no provision, as any others whatever. Whence, in flat contradiction to their own pernicious d ctrine, and even against inclination, they directly witness to the force of those obligations they vainly struggle in themselves to be freed from. So powerfully has the Author of our nature fixed as well the evidences as the *efficacy, together with* the reality of the existence of those principles.

that will produce crops as infinitely exceeding all others in real value and dignity, since they are not only from our Creator's hand, but have the most immediate and direct tendency to the end of our creation—our own happiness.

'To show their vast advantages severally would require a greater expense of time than can now be spared for it; but this may be summarily observed, that, as the choice of the better becomes more lovely, their opposite vices will become the more vile and detestable in our eyes.

'When we once entertain a true notion of that great and primary law by which the whole universe is supported, viz., justice, and of the reasonableness of doing to every one as we would they should in like circumstances do to us, we should utterly abhor the thought of offering any wrong to our neighbour. To attempt to deprive him of his right, either in his estate or possession, or, what is more dear to all good men, their credit and reputation, would become detestable; and those villainous practices of calumny and scandal, that some make so free with, but are truly the scum of corrupted souls, thrown out by the acrid ferment of malice, with its foundation falsehood, would appear as odiously black as the hellish source it springs from. And then far would it be from human thoughts to perpetrate such heinous outrages as the depriving our fellow-creatures, partakers of all the rights of nature equally with ourselves, of that by which alone they can enjoy them, viz., their lives; the crime for which all nations have appointed the like punishment.

'Again, if we consider our own weakness, how all our abilities are gratuitous, that we cannot add an hair's-breadth to our real height, cannot command any one of our vital functions, in a word, how absolutely dependent we are in all things on a superior power, we should clearly see we cannot act a more ridiculous part, or more inconsistent with common sense, than to indulge pride, or to value ourselves on what we were not the authors of. Or, if by industry we should have gained some attainments, when we reflect that the abilities by which these have been acquired were not of our own purchase, but freely given to us, and that the very next moment, as we see

some are by sudden death or distempers, we may be deprived of them, instead of being elated by the possession, we shall become humbly thankful, and express our gratitude to the great Giver, by our respectful regard to all the other parts of his creation. And then,

'If by the wrong of others we are provoked to anger, which on some occasions is just and necessary, we shall never indulge it further than to have the wrong redressed; and far from taking our measures from the dictates of pride, and a vain conceit of ourselves, as imagining the crime is rendered greater in its own nature by being offered to us, we shall consider, not only inexorable, but every kind of continued resentment, with its parent, pride, and its other black issue, envy, as detestable as any other crime whatever; and the more so for this obvious reason, that it is manifest to all who reflect on the affairs of life, that from pride, ambition, and resentment by far the greater part of all public miseries—dissension, faction, wars, foreign and intestine, are principally owing; therefore all the appearances of them ought to be industriously crushed, and all those who foment them should be esteemed no better than incendiaries, scattering destruction around them.

'Again, when we consider how, by the faculties bestowed upon us, we are enabled to discern, view, and reflect on that beautiful order, that perfect regularity, which was observed before to reign through all the other works of nature, we ought no otherwise to behold this than as a great examplar placed before our eyes to copy after and imitate in the regulation of our own conduct, in all things depending on the freedom of our wills. And were even this alone but duly observed, we should, under the Divine influence, want no other lessons than what from thence might naturally be deduced to instruct us in the government of all our appetites, our passions, and our pleasures, nor, in a natural way, in any other of the occurrences of life.

'All other animals we see exactly enough observe the stints of nature; and shall we, who superiorly to them are further endowed with the powers of reason, be found inferior, and *transgress in ministering* to that lower part of us, our bodies,

in which they, without the aid of reason, never trespass? Temperance in eating and drinking, and in all the other gratifications of our appetites and senses, we find by experience greatly contributes, not only to our health and strength, but what yet more nearly concerns our happiness, which is known to consist, principally, in the disposition of our minds, it induces and diffuses a calmness and serenity there. From hence, therefore, we might effectually learn to subdue, or bring to a just temper, every irregular passion, every inordinate appetite, that would otherwise ruffle or disturb us. And on this foundation we might greatly build up that natural happiness which, most undoubtedly, was intended for us in our formation For it is a thought altogether unworthy of the dignity of our own reason, as well as of the perfections we all acknowledge in the Deity, to imagine it possible that the supreme Author of all things, possessed of that infinite wisdom and goodness which his whole creation in every other part loudly proclaims, should design any of his works, or cause them to come into existence, for any other end or purpose. And even the bare supposition that he could ordain any for misery, carries equally with it a contradiction to his very being.

'Thus I have pointed out, as far as our time, and the occasion of our convening here will allow, those fundamental principles in nature, from which our duties are derived; the sum of which is briefly thus:—The whole creation was made perfect, and beauty and order, throughout the whole, shine brightly out to our view: body and inanimate beings are governed by laws steady and unalterable, and animals, by certain instincts, operating with equal force; man alone, by a perverse use of his free will, has deviated; yet, in his composition, we evidently find the seeds of all the social virtues deeply implanted: for to the reality of their existence and their efficacy only is it owing, that we can have any perception of pleasure in beholding or hearing of the virtuous actions of others, or that we witness within ourselves a joy or satisfaction in our own.

'We have farther the powers of reason, which animate the whole, to aid and direct us in imitating the great exemplar of beauty and order set before us; and in our endeavours to

keep up to these, we cannot doubt of the influence and assistance of that goodness which first produced us into being. These, then, are the natural means, and, these the steps by which we may effectually be enabled to discharge every duty, in every station of life, as subjects, friends, neighbours, masters, servants, in the conjugal tie, and in the parental, filial, and every other relation; a sincere practice of which would give us a true taste of happiness here, in a calm serenity, an undisturbed tranquillity in our own breasts, the certain fruits that such a conduct would produce, but fruits that the vicious man can never know: and yet, even the most vicious will readily acknowledge it is what every one ought to labour and contend for with the utmost application.

'But though, from what has been observed, the way to this happy state is so open and plain, and would also be found highly delightful; yet, by melancholy experience we are convinced that the direct contrary practices amongst many have so far prevailed, that, were it not for the restraint of laws, mankind would no longer be safe in society; for so quick was the degeneracy, and so universal, that the necessity soon appeared, not only of entering into communities, which, as man was by nature formed for society, was very easy, but also into compacts; and coercive and penal laws were ordained for the punishment of those who should dare to act in contravention of what was agreed on. And for these ends was government first instituted, the powers and administrations of which are now of such absolute necessity, that there lies no stronger obligation on mankind than that of supporting it.

'And now, after this general deduction of our duties, from principles congenial with our beings, which, I hope, all who hear me will apply to the best purposes, I shall proceed directly to the business before us.

'Of government, there have been various kinds and different institutions; but the English constitution, under which we have the happiness to live, has, by all good judges, been allowed the most perfect; as being, in the main, the most equal mixture and temperature of whatever is most valuable in other forms. But to say no more of it now than what immediately relates

to our present business, it must be observed, that, in most other constitutions, the unhappy criminals or persons suspected, who are to be called to account for transgressing the laws, are generally charged by some certain accuser; and with them the whole administration of justice is confined, and limited to the hands of but a few, who are invested with the power. But far otherwise with us: an English constitution supposes all the powers of government, like life in the body, to be, in some measure, diffused through the whole community of freeholders and freemen. For as these, by birthright, are vested with the inherent privileges of choosing their own representatives to appear for them in legislation, who, in behalf of their constituents, are to consider what may be most expedient and conducive to the common good; so, likewise, in regard to the executive powers, it is presumed and expected that every man shall think himself obliged, like a watchman, to be ever intent on the public peace, and the preservation of good order, in the district wherein he dwells; and, accordingly, to be capable of rendering an account of the conduct of those in his vicinage.

'From hence it is, that a competent number of persons of note, who ought always to be the principal of the county for character and estate, are selected by the king's proper officer, from all the several parts of the county, to represent the state of it. And this appears to be the origin and intention of grand juries: whence the excellency of the constitution evidently appears in this, that the charge of inquiry, and looking into the behaviour of the people, is committed, not to informers or courts of inquisition, but to persons deeply interested in the welfare of their country; who, standing fairest to be acquainted with, and most likely to be affected by any disorders amongst the subjects, it is, on the one hand, supposed, that nothing of moment can escape their knowledge and notice; and, on the other, for prevention of oppression, it is so ordered, that none shall be accused or presented to the judicatory for trial and punishment, before the facts come under their impartial examination, and be found worthy, at least, of a more close discussion by a legal trial. In other countries, the pro-

cess is by libel, or information from an officer in the court to the judges; and it is true that the same method, in some cases, is admitted in England, and sometimes may become necessary: but it is evident that the practice is far from being consistent with the true genius of an English constitution, and is seldom favourably looked on by the most equitable judges even of the law.

'Now you, gentlemen, are the persons thus appointed to constitute the grand inquest for this court, and of the nature of your business you have already been informed: but the law requiring, in all cases, the utmost certainty that can be had; in these capital ones, where the life of a subject is in question, the utmost caution is necessary. And, therefore, though you are not actually to try, but only to present for trial the real or suspected crimes that come under your notice, yet even here an oath or affirmation is required, and the form of it is particularly prescribed by the law; and that very form, by which you have all been qualified, when duly considered, will prove greatly directive to you in your proceedings; and therefore, that it may make the stronger impression on your minds, I shall, from this place, repeat to you the tenor of it. It is, first, that you shall diligently inquire, and true presentment make, of all such matters and things as shall be given you in charge. This charge you now receive from the bench, and the legal part of it is to enumerate, define, and explain, the several crimes you are more immediately to inquire into and present, in order to have them tried by this present judicature: and they are these:—

[It is not thought necessary here to repeat and explain the several crimes named, including high and petty treason, homicide of all kinds, as murder, manslaughter, *per infortunium*, and *se defendendo*, robbery, &c.]

'These, gentlemen, are the crimes made capital by the laws of this province, save that those under the title of homicide, which amount not to murder, are more lightly punished than with death; but as they all equally come under the cognizance of this court, you are diligently to inquire into, and present

all such of them as you find to have been committed within this city or county. And in your proceeding herein, you are most carefully to consider the other parts of your qualification, which I shall go on to repeat; that is, The counsel of our sovereign Lord the King, and your own, you shall keep secret: you shall not present any person for envy, hatred, or malice; nor conceal anything of truth for fear, favour, or affection, gain or hope of reward; but you shall, in all things, present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

'Now this solemn engagement that you have entered into, cannot but put you in mind of the weight of the obligation you lie under in the discharge of the present trust: you are, therefore, to proceed in it with a perfect impartiality, that, with a conscience clear in the sight of God, to whom all concerned in the administration of justice are, in the highest degree, accountable for preserving good order, and discouraging every breach of it, you may duly acquit yourselves, as well by a tender regard to the peaceable and guiltless, as by labouring to discover every offender in any of the crimes that have been mentioned, together with all who may be involved in the guilt with them, and this without sparing any person for favour, or charging any, through resentment or disaffection, but directing your whole process to this view alone, that exact justice may be done—the guilty may be punished, and the innocent protected, which are the only true end of all government and the laws.'

The following acknowledgment of Logan's Charge was made by the Grand Inquest:—

'TO THE HON. JAMES LOGAN, ESQ., CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND HIS ASSOCIATES.

'THE grand inquest for the city and county of Philadelphia, having with attention heard, and duly considered the seasonable Charge delivered to us from the bench, do gratefully acknowledge our own and the country's obligations, for the excellent precepts and directions therein set forth, and so well recommended for the good of society, and benefit of human

life. And to the end, that the intention and generous design thereof may have a just influence on the minds of the people in general, we humbly request that the same may be made public.

'And as for our part in the present station and service, we are called to on behalf of our country, we shall endeavour, according to our understanding, to discharge the trust reposed in us for the support of our happy constitution, so generously conveyed to the people of this province by the great founder and benefactor thereof, and continued to us under his worthy and honourable descendants.

'Signed, in behalf of the inquest,

'RICHARD MARTIN, *Foreman.*'

JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS STORY.

'STENTON, *Nov.* 15, 1737.

'ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I received, and with pleasure read, thy letter of the 7th of 3d Month, and should be yet more pleased if I could answer it to thy satisfaction; but the principal subject of it as by thee considered and spoken to, having at times very closely employed my thoughts, I must own that I am not to this day capable of forming those clear notions and distinctions in my own mind concerning it, that I conceive necessary in every case before I can persuade myself I understand it. For, as in my youth, I had an inclination for knowledge, though I was at first well pleased with every attainment of skill, as with the practical parts of the mathematics, yet I never could acquiesce in these without knowing also the first and deepest on which the rules of that practice were founded; so in a maturer state, though engaged, as thou art aware, in a vast hurry and load of business, I could not forbear making reflections on the springs both of thought and action in mankind, and latterly concluded that all our knowledge is but relative to our own beings and constitution here. And having long fixed on this thought, though in a variety of other occupations, I had also this further one, that some time or other I would make some little essay towards digesting and putting those conceptions in writing.

'On this I began in 7ber or 8ber, 1735, about two years since, taking this for my foundation against Hobbes, that man was primarily in his nature formed for society, for proof of which I discovered and adduced several arguments that had never to my knowledge been advanced before, and having run over the draught of it, and caused one of my children to copy it, I sent it to Peter Collinson, to show it to some two or three such persons, as he should think the most competent judges of it; for I have been unfortunate in this, that I have had very few, if any, acquaintance here, or any correspondents there, who would be of use to me on such occasions. I was in hopes, indeed, of some advantage that way from J. Martin, but found myself disappointed. That discourse which I intended for a first chapter, I am surprised thou hadst not seen when thou wrote. I hope P. C. has not so parted with it as not to have it in his power. The sense of what I expressed in four Latin lines, not very familiar to those who are not versed in their poets, thou wilt find in this in as many English.

'The same winter, having drawn up a sketch for a chapter on the senses, I proceeded to another on the intellect, and a fourth on the affections and passions. The two first of these I soon saw I must run over again, for the third I perceived required a much closer application; and the more so, because, having seen a book of Dr. Brown, late Bishop of Cork, under the specious title of the *Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Understanding*, I observed some errors in it of such dangerous consequence that I thought it of importance to have them rectified, particularly in his sinking moral certainty to a degree so far inferior to mathematical, which I think I can clearly show to be equally built on the same foundation.

'But the fourth chapter being more complete, I caused a copy of that also to be drawn out; and, because of some pretty deep anatomical speculations in it of the heart and nerves, I sent it first to my brother, and then to Dr. Mead, who had not returned it, I find by P. C.'s letter, in September last, but, if not yet done, the few lines I am now sending him I hope will oblige him to it, and then thou may have the opportunity of perusing it.

'In that piece I expect thou wilt find something to object to, but I cannot help it. It has been, and is my rule and method, to investigate the truth and the reality of things, abstracted from all prejudices whatever, with the most intense care and application; and, though it is by no means proper freely to publish all one's thoughts, yet it is indispensably incumbent on an honest man to publish nothing but what he is at least convinced of in himself, and believes to be true, so far as the nature of the subject admits of certainty, or, in default of this, has the advantage of a strong probability.

'My sole hope in that chapter was, as far as I could carry it, to prove that the head, which is the only seat of thought, and consequently of reason, and the heart, the spring of all action, are two distinct regions of themselves, though of the strictest communication. That from hence every motion of the heart (its affections, &c.) may be watched over and guarded, as a chemist does his fires, stills, and bottles; and, therefore, that every affection and passion may, by a careful exercise, be brought into subjection and under a just regulation, by which, when directed by a good understanding, morality is perfected, and this is the true foundation of all social duties. And, when there is joined to this a true sense of our dependence on the supreme and divine Author of all things, a constant contemplation of his wisdom and goodness, and a sincere love springing from thence, influencing us, by the bent of affection, to observe and practise, in what relates to us and is in our power, the same good order that he has established throughout his creation (which I make the subject of a fifth chapter, on Moral Good or Virtue), this is true religion and holiness. Yet I purposely forbear to treat these subjects otherwise than philosophically, for adding a sixth chapter on the Will, in which I should use some freedom even with the great John Locke, for whom, notwithstanding, I have a very great esteem, I would conclude the first part, and in a second, but much shorter one, proceed to apply the whole.

'But that these things will ever be finished is more than I can reasonably anticipate, nor do I at all expect it. I find my natural abilities much decayed, and I am with those of the

brain too much in the same condition with those hard labourers who in their youth spent their strength without sparing it, the effects of which they most sensibly feel in the pains and weakness of age.

'On considering the Discourse of the Affections, &c., if thou meet with it, thou probably may not be pleased with my ranging natural conscience amongst the passions. I am sensible it is wholly new, but I think it is no less just, and however it may appear on the first view, I am persuaded I could not do a greater service to virtue and true religion, for I have there left full room for all superior influences, as I have, though very briefly, hinted in one sentence, for that is not the place to say much more of it, though perhaps I may even there add something.

'But now to speak to that part of thy letter where thou treats of man, reason, &c., and says, "Man, in himself considered as a creature, is no more self-sufficient than self-productive. The first state we find him in is simply animal, with like senses and appetites as others have. In this state, as in childhood, he knows nothing of relation, of property, or of moral virtue, yet is animally social to his own genus and other species, till, gradually growing and increasing to an intellectual state, he distinguishes between the animal or sensual appetites and objects of reason (or the intellect), as moral truths, mathematical problems, &c. His reason is not that which makes the discovery, but is only susceptible of it. That which makes the discovery, and directs to the choice in the understanding in moral truths, is essential and self-evidencing truth, furnishing the mind with an immediate intuitive view of right and wrong, without any reasoning or use of it. It is this that suggests strong inclinations in the rational nature of man, to practise all natural, social, and moral duties to his own genus, and not man himself, or any property essential to him, or constituent of his being. But, as the eye hath a capacity of seeing, yet cannot without the medium of light, even so, though the intellect is capable of information in moral, social, and divine truths, the true and certain informer is essential light or truth, without which there is no certainty." (I have trau-

scribed all this for thy own review, because perhaps thou mayst not have kept any copy); and by this essential light and truth thou seems clearly to mean the same thou mentioned before, viz., the Divine *Logos*, spoken of by John the Evangelist.

'In these words I think thou very plainly delivers thy sense in what I requested of thee, and yet to me I must own the matter itself in that sense is incomprehensible, for, as from what I said before of myself, thou wilt easily believe I cannot, without clear and distinct ideas or notions of things, persuade myself I understand them, so I cannot conceive thy comparison of the eye and the outward light, with reason and the essential one or truth, for the eye cannot see at all without the outward light. I must, then, ask whether reason can conceive or judge at all without the other light; if not, then, though in the schools they imagine they do something in distinguishing between the subjective and objective parts of knowledge, yet I must own I do not understand their jargon. The eye is an organ, but acts nothing at all of itself, for thou hast seen a glass of mine perform the very same thing in a darkened room that the eye does in the head; but reason is an active principle, it is the power of comparing ideas received into the brain, which seems to be truly organical. But then, perhaps, we are to suppose that it cannot compare them without the accession or presence of that essential light. If so, I ask whether this light is necessary in all cases and on all subjects, mathematical, artificial, political, and moral; or is there a distinction? If it be necessary in all, this is Malbranche's notion of our seeing all things in God, which, for very good reasons, with the absurdities that would follow upon it, is justly exploded in every other sense than that by the power and influence of the Deity the whole universe, with all its motions, is supported, and in this sense the notion explains nothing at all particular in relation to the mind, more than it does of the sun's rising, &c. But if not in all, and only in moral and divine truths, I am sure that, as to the first, there will difficulties arise in all pretences or endeavours to give a criterion that will plainly, and on the first view, be found insurmountable. But, on the whole, if reason *cannot* act without the influence, assistance, or presence of

that essential truth, then the same reason, which is the discriminating faculty between man and brutes, and with some share of which it is universally allowed man must be endued, to entitle him to humanity, is that *Logos*, and then what becomes of the Spirit, &c. Be pleased only to review thy own words, and then consider where the matter will terminate; for upon a closer examination thou canst not fail of seeing that the faculty called reason, which is lodged solely in the head, and the *Logos*, are vastly wide from being the same.

'But in the following part of thy letter thy account of it is no less different. There thou says, 'The Almighty has clothed his wisdom and power, the eternal Logos, with a human mind, homogeneal to all mankind, and that thus clothed or veiled in the proper nature of man, it approaches his mind, so as to reach and lead even his affections, and begetting him unto himself, makes him partaker of the Divine nature, whereby the Divine will is not only manifested in him, but becomes his law, and greatest delight and pleasure,' &c. This indeed is to the purpose, though not directly to that of my question. The thing itself I take to be altogether inexplicable and incomprehensible, any otherwise than by feeling and experience; yet scarcely more so than almost every part of our constitution, especially that of the union of a passive body and thinking mind. And this notion or belief I would by all means desire to have cherished, for after the most strict philosophical inquiries I am able to make, I am strongly of opinion and firmly believe there is something Divine attends mankind, exerting itself in that part of him that in my discourse on the affections I have called natural conscience, which, when ardent desires are raised in his heart to know the will of God, to be enabled to perform it, and to have some communion with him, it purifies, animates, and strengthens. I am further also of opinion, that this arises not always from the will of man, but sometimes immediately, and at once, from a Divine influence, and sometimes it may co-operate only with the inclinations in the heart to good, in both which cases it is properly called Divine grace. But I must here be so plain as to say, that I can by no means run this to the length I observe many of our well meaning Friends do,

who imagine that all the thoughts suggested (as in preaching) from a sense of that love are the dictates of the Spirit. God undoubtedly may, on some very peculiar occasions, reveal particular truth, but that this is common, may well be more than doubted, for it is certain that the motions of the heart and thoughts of the head are very different. A man that has a strong love for a woman, will find a great many warm thoughts spring in his mind, as they are raised and influenced by his affections. And the like, though of a different tendency, may be observed to result from other passions, as anger, hatred, &c. So when the heart is touched with Divine love, pious thoughts will be suggested, but for the most part partaking of the natural temper and disposition of the speaker, as well as indicating his natural abilities or weakness. Of all this I am inclinable to believe thou wilt approve, though there are but too many who would be offended at it. But I forget I am writing a letter, and that it is already too long. I shall add, however, that if thou shouldst differ from me in opinion on any part of this, thou may, if thou please, give me thy further sense of it, but I will enter into no disputes, nor do I believe thyself inclinable to them.

'My *Charge*, of which thou art pleased to say so much, I find has been reprinted in London, but they have done wrong to put my name at large to it, since it was not so in the edition here.

'By a letter I have now lately received from Joseph Martin, last 6th month, I am informed thou art writing some remarks on my *Charge* to send me; what thou further says on those heads, I may consider, but hope they will not tend to what I have guarded against.

'I know nothing further to add, but that my family enjoy a tolerable state of health, and give their very kind love to thee, as does thy real friend, 'JAMES LOGAN.'

JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS STORY.

'STENTON, 19*th* 9*ber*, 1738.

'ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I was favoured with thine of the 2d of *1st Month* in due time after its date, and perhaps ought to

have acknowledged it sooner, but as thou gave me reason to expect something larger from thee, I was desirous to receive that first; of which having heard nothing further, it is incumbent on me at least to acknowledge not only that, but thy kind present of thy four sermons, which I have not only looked into myself, but caused my two daughters, on first-day evenings, to read to their mother and me together, an employment on their part that they, as well as the hearers, were very well pleased with. And, indeed, I cannot but admire the singular favour and goodness of Divine Providence extended to thee, in not only furnishing thee with bodily strength to undergo such exhausting labours, but also in preserving thy intellectual faculties as serene and clear as ever; while I, whom I suppose thou wilt not now scruple to allow a good many years behind thee (though last month I entered my 65th year), am very sensible of my natural decay in most respects, and that I am now far short of being capable of performing many things that I might in a more vigorous age to better purpose, or at least with more ease to myself, with the like advantages of leisure and other conveniences about me. For I truly very much doubt whether I shall ever be capable of completing those things I have hinted to thee, which I began about this time three years ago (for the letter thou hast seen on vegetation was purely accidental, and written the year before). But, by our late Governor's death the subsequent summer, and our troubles from Maryland that directly ensued, though I was no way accessory to them, I was entirely diverted from them [the other things alluded to above], and have never since resumed them. Yet I have written some other little things, on different subjects, in Latin, which I suppose will soon be printed in Holland, or one of them, on a mathematical subject, probably by the Royal Society in their *Transactions*. But in these last I most sensibly and evidently feel my decay, in not being able in any measure to carry on a calculation as formerly.

'But, to return to thy Discourses, I have no matter of objection to any part of them; on the contrary, I heartily wish we could have more of the kind from our galleries. It is very true that what is principally to be regarded in our preaching

is what affects and reaches the heart, for all besides is lifeless amongst us. Yet it cannot but be more edifying, as it is certainly more effectively persuasive, if directed to that end, when what is delivered carries at the same time our reason along with it, so that the natural understanding is no less wrought on than the heart.*

'As to those points in my last thou speaks to in thine, I choose entirely to decline the subject till I hear further from thee, or, if thou please, for ever. Yet if that should be the case, to wind up the whole I shall here say that that gift or grace, whatever it be, or however men may agree or disagree in explaining it, is the only source of true happiness attainable in this life; and that the only path that will lead to the true and real enjoyment of it is that of humility and a sincere charity, without which all profession of religion is empty show, and no better than hypocrisy, however attended with zeal, or the appearances of a fervent devotion. I should, however, be well enough pleased to see what thou hast committed to writing on the subject; and what would add to this desire is the surprise I am under at the short hints thou hast given me of thy hypothesis concerning the commencement of this present state of natural things, and that preceding it, which thou conceives to have been animalcules (a word I would advise thee to change for some better), and that to that prior state (as I understand thee) are owing the shells, &c., that are found in the strata of the solid earth. This, indeed, is a notion that I believe is not only new to thyself, but to all mankind. If thou truly means it, as I take it, that matter was generally animated *before the worlds were made of it*, which last are thy own words, I confess it surpasses my understanding. Thou says no one has seen it except Dr. Clark. If thou means Samuel Clark, rector of St. James's, I imagine this must be something thou hadst written before thou saw my *Charge*, because, if I mistake not, the Doctor was dead some time before. Whatever it be,

* The sermons of Thomas Story here alluded to were reprinted, with some others, a few years ago, and are well worthy an attentive perusal, being truly evangelical, and highly edifying and instructive.

I could wish to see something more of it, for, from thy brief hints, it appears to me very extraordinary.

'My family are all, through mercy, in health, and my wife and daughter salute thee.—I am, with kind love, thy real friend, 'JAMES LOGAN.'

In the preceding letter allusion is made to the 'troubles from Maryland,' which it would occupy too much space here fully to explain. They resulted from a dispute as to Penn's title to the Lower Counties, as they were termed, comprising Maryland and the Delawares. As to the *validity* of the Proprietary claim, in 1713, Hannah Penn, in behalf of her husband, writes, 'I found a grant from Queen Mary, signed by her own hand, in which she declares or owns my husband to be true and rightful proprietor of the Lower Counties and Newcastle; and I believe there is, or will be easily got, a sufficient title to it.' Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, states, 'When Newcastle and the Lower Counties were delivered by the Duke of York's agent to William Penn, it was done formally by delivery of *turf and water*. A fit subject,' he adds, 'for an historical painting.' The duke's deed of sale is dated the 20th of August, 1682.

These Lower Counties certainly did at one period constitute an acknowledged portion of Penn's territory, and were under the Proprietary government, but they resolved to secede or withdraw themselves, *nolens, volens*, from the Union. The chief cause of the projected separation is assigned by Logan to a desire on the part of the inhabitants to make Newcastle their chief town, as a rival to Philadelphia. 'To make that town flourish,' he says, 'they fell upon the expedient to separate the Lower Counties from the province, and to make it the seat of government.'

The following extract from a letter from James Logan to Henry Gouldney,* contains, among other subjects, his opinion as to the Proprietary right to the government of the Delaware counties.

* It was at the house of Henry Gouldney, of London, that George Fox died in 1690.

JAMES LOGAN TO HENRY GOULDNEY.

'PHILADELPHIA, *3d Month, 12th*, 1709.

'HENRY GOULDNEY, ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I WAS favoured last fall with thine and other friends' answer to mine of 3d Month last, the contents of which were extremely satisfactory, and on my part I shall not be wanting to discharge my duty to the utmost of my power. But, in my opinion, since the Proprietor has several times mentioned that he had proposals made to him for the purchase of a large tract of land on Susquehannah, for which he had an offer of £5000 sterling, it would be most advisable for him to accept of any such terms, that so he may speedily have the management of his country to himself, by paying the debt there which he has contracted upon it; to which I wish thee and his other good friends would earnestly press him, for in himself I know he is in such cases somewhat too doubtful and backward.

'I now design, through the greatest confidence in thy friendship both to him and me, to be very free with thee in an affair that nearly concerns him and this country in general, in which I shall request thee to exercise thy best thoughts, and, according to the result of these, heartily to employ the necessary endeavours. The case is briefly as follows:—

'This Government has consisted of two parts—the province of Pennsylvania, and the three lower counties on Delaware. To the first the Proprietor has a most clear and undoubted right, both for soil and government, by the King's letters patents or royal charter; for the latter, he has much less to show; for the soil, he has deeds of feofment from the Duke of York; but for the government not so much as is necessary. After his first arrival, however, in these parts, he prevailed with the people both of the province and those counties to join in one Government under him, according to the powers of the King's charter, which, nevertheless, extended to the province only, and so they continued, not without many factions, till after the time of his last departure, when some disaffected persons took advantage of a clause which he had unhappily inserted in a charter he gave the people, and broke off entirely from those lower counties; since which time we

have had two Assemblies, that of the province acting by a safe and indisputed power, but that of the other counties without sufficient (I doubt) to justify them. Last fall the Assembly of those counties took occasion to inquire into their own powers, upon a design to set new measures on foot, and have sent home an address by one of their members, Thomas Coutts' brother, who is to negotiate the matter with the lords of trade and the ministry, to obtain powers to some person or other, who the Queen may think fit (though Coutts designs it for himself) to discharge all the necessary duties of government over them. This, I fear, will give the Proprietary great trouble, for when the council of trade is fully apprized, as by this means they will be, that those counties are entirely disjoined from the province, it is probable they may more strictly inquire into the Proprietor's right of government and legislation with the people there; and it is much to be feared that they may advise the Queen to dispose of the government of those parts some other way, which would be exceedingly destructive to the interest of the province in general.

'Upon the whole, what I have to propose is this, whether it would not be most advisable for the Proprietor to consider in time what measures are most fit for him to take for his own and the country's interest, before the blow falls so heavy that it may prove difficult, if at all practicable, for him to ward it off; whether, therefore, it may not be most prudent to part with the government of both province and lower counties together, upon the best terms that can be obtained, before it proves too late for him to procure any. If he should hold the government of the province, nay, even of the whole, during his life, he will never gain anything by it; and, after his decease, it will be lost, or at least be put out of the hands of Friends, and perhaps without any previous terms at all, when now he may be capable himself to negotiate a surrender, both to his own particular interest, and greatly to the advantage of the profession; but, whenever this is done, he should remember our present lieutenant-governor, who will be a sufferer (I fear, at best) by undertaking the charge; and if anything fall of course in the way, I wish he would not quite forget an old

trusty servant of his, who has been drudging for him these ten years (but that is not the business). This I thought necessary to advise thee of, considering thee as one of his best and heartiest friends, and desire thee to communicate the matter to such others as may be most serviceable, *but by no means expose this letter, for I would have that kept very private.* I have written to the same purpose to the Proprietary himself very fully, but finding, by long experience, how little it avails to write to himself alone of matters relating to his own interest, I now choose this method, and give this early notice before the addresses from hence shall come to hand, which, with the address already gone from the lower counties, will certainly do our business, whether the Proprietor will agree to it or not, and therefore best take time while it offers. I shall commit this to thy prudence and discretion, and conclude, thy real loving friend,

'JAMES LOGAN.'

The foregoing letter is inserted at the conclusion of a work by Benjamin Franklin, entitled, *An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, from its origin,* in which the name of James Logan frequently occurs, though it is to be regretted too often in a derogatory manner. To say nothing of the witty sarcasms with which the Doctor amused his readers at the expense of Friends, some of his assertions in the above work are quite untenable, being evidently written to answer a special purpose, and cannot be passed by unnoticed here. The strictures of the editor of the *Philadelphia Friend,* on the various statements of this nature contained in Franklin's *Historical Review,* are so appropriate, I cannot do better than repeat them :—

Dr. Franklin, when engaged in England, from 1757 to 1762, as the agent of Pennsylvania, endeavoured to procure relief for the colony from taxation, either by entire exemption, or by placing a portion of the burden on the proprietaries. To promote that object, he published in London the *Historical Review,* in which he laboured, like an able and ingenious, but not always ingenuous, advocate, to place colonial proprietors *in an odious light,* as grasping and extortionate masters ; in

order to bring them into disfavour with the public and the royal government, and present them as fit subjects for the exacting powers of the Crown. He could not be content without showing that the government of Pennsylvania, at that time, was in the hands of men who thought less of the public weal than the accumulation of property for themselves. One might imagine, to look upon his picture, that William Penn himself had been fattening upon the distresses of his people—that the colonists had all the expense, and Penn all the profit.

In depicting the character of Penn, Franklin draws largely upon a spurious document, which he treats as a regularly authenticated state paper, without the smallest intimation of the real history of it. The high standing of Franklin, as a statesman and natural philosopher, has given a degree of authority to his partizan writings which they do not merit. Having a particular object to attain, he has given only such colouring to his subject as suited his purpose. James Logan, then some years in his grave, who had been the friend and patron of Franklin, when the latter was poor and undistinguished, met with no better usage than his master; for whatever discredit was cast upon the one, was in a degree reflected upon the other. If the Doctor, in hard riding his hobby for the goal of his desire, threw from his heels some mire into the face of an old friend, who might stand a little in his way, that was no great matter.

Dr. Franklin draws notice to the '*Remonstrance*,' before alluded to, one of the allegations of which was levelled at James Logan, and through him at Penn, namely, that his confidential secretary and governor Evans jointly concocted a false alarm, which was contrived with the expectation of frightening the people into a military defence. This is sufficiently disproved by the proprietary correspondence. Logan, in none of his letters, seeks to palliate that offence; but always treats it as puerile and unprincipled. He suspected the trick at an early period, and promptly took steps to demonstrate its untruth and allay the public excitement. Yet Franklin would have fastened that dishonour upon him, and as he was continued in office, upon William Penn also.

Franklin likewise informed the readers of the *Review*, that there still stood upon the minutes of the Assembly thirteen articles of impeachment against Logan, for malversations in office, and high misdemeanours. But he neglected to say that the Assembly never pushed the impeachment to trial; that they were repeatedly urged to do so by Logan; that on the 28th of the 9th Month, 1709, they entered upon their minutes an assurance which the speaker had received by letter from George Whitehead and Thomas Lower, that he should in England 'be brought to his trial upon the articles charged against him,' and that, after a full hearing there, he was triumphantly acquitted.

Franklin had the boldness to give a place in his *Review* to a charge made by Governor Keith, against James Logan, in a letter to Hannah Penn, which he caused to be printed in the Journal of the Assembly, of falsifying the minutes of Council, and of some other acts which ought to have disgraced him; but yet, as Franklin says, Logan so effectually made his court to the widow Penn and her family, that they confirmed him in his dignities. The recent publication of the minutes of Council throws some light on this subject, and as it fully exposes the unfairness of the *Review*, it may be worth while, in a few words, to revert to the truth.

At the opening of council, 'March 9, 1724–25,' James Logan complained of this calumny, and demanded the governor's proofs. Whereupon the Governor interrupted him, by saying that 'public business of much greater consequence' required the attention of the council. Logan insisted on justifying himself at once. The Governor objected. Logan then requested the next morning might be allowed him. The Governor again objected, when a member of council, interfering, proposed the 12th instant for the hearing of the case. On the 12th, the Governor produced a rough minute in Logan's handwriting, which he said he had accidentally found among some papers handed to the deputy-clerk to be engrossed as part of the minutes of council of April 15, 1722, which minute he alleged to be false, and that it had never been authorized by council. The paper was read. Logan acknowledged it, and appealed

for its accuracy to the four members of council then present, who were also members at the date of the minute, and 'who agreed that the substance of what the said paper contained was said that day at the Board.' The governor seemed chiefly to insist upon the manner of expression, as indecent towards him. The matter was referred, and, on the 15th, it was decided that 'as the Governor has expressed a dissatisfaction with all the latter part of the said minute, as reflecting upon him, in language arising (as it is supposed) from the warmth of the debate, but is of no real service to be put upon record, that all that part of the said minute may be left unrecorded.'

As to Logan's being successful in playing the courtier to Hannah Penn, no confirmation of his skilfulness that way is to be found in his correspondence. He was always in the habit of expressing his sentiments with a manly and honest freedom. He wrote with the liberty of a sincere and earnest friend, and not unfrequently at the risk of giving offence. 'I have,' he wrote in 1715, 'I confess, a natural heat, which is very much out of the common way of the world. For, first, no man is more concerned at the mismanagement of his friends; and, next, no man, I believe, is more apt to speak his sentiment with freedom. There have been times, perhaps, when such a method has been thought to be the best part of a friend's duty; but now, when nothing recommends a man more in conversation than a shrewd and witty expression, though its subject (as it commonly is) be only unjust slander, obscenity, or irreligion, I cannot, it is probable, fail of being censured for so unmodish unhonesty.' And to Springett Penn he wrote, in 1725, 'I have from time to time said enough to move you—if words and proper informations could have the effect to serve you—faithfully, according to the best of my judgment. I have run the hazard of offending every branch of the family.'

His situation as Secretary he would willingly have relinquished, and before Penn's sickness had fully resolved to do so; but that event bound him to the oar for many years longer, and he laboured faithfully, not for filthy lucre, as Franklin would have his readers believe, but from a disinterested desire to serve the family of a man whom he loved and revered.

greatly to his own pecuniary disadvantage. But both Penn and Logan, if we are to take Dr. Franklin's account of the matter, were for many long years diligently occupied in filling their coffers from the hard-earned treasures of an injured colony.

Although it is evident the *Review* is not entitled to credit, many of its mis-statements have proved a foundation upon which historians of later date have erected imposing superstructures. With this remark I shall dismiss it.

THOMAS STORY TO JAMES LOGAN.

'LONDON, *2d Month, 11th*, 1738.

'ESTEEMED FRIEND,—My last was of the 8th of 12th Month, which may be come to hand by this time, and as I said therein that I intended to send thee a transcript of what I have written upon thy *Charge*, it comes herewith for thy perusal and correction, and if it be or can be made conformable to thy own sentiments, and be thought of any service, I am willing to be at the cost of the publication of some few of them, or the matters contained in them, in some form or other. I do not know there is anything in it counteracting any part of the *Charge* (nor did I design any), but if there be, in thy apprehension, please to assign the places, and alter them by some separate notes and references. In pages 10 and 11, I had missed the matter in transcribing it, but have supplied it in the margins, which I think will be intelligible. In some places I have repeated several of thy sentences, but in so doing I have added some further observations, comments, explanations, or expatiations upon them, all which I freely submit to thy own censure. What I have advanced concerning the primitive production of *inert matter* may be true, though I may not be easily understood, for want of proper terms whereby to express my sentiments on subjects so uncommon and abstruse; yet as the effects point back to the causes, and as the wisdom of the operator is known by the work, so by tracing nature backward by the manner of her own productions and issues, we may, better than by any other means I can think of, come to the knowledge of *her first form* and the state of it, and from thence to her pre-

sent perfections, in her various parts and circumstances, and again, in the whole connected thing composed of many particulars. For it is plain to demonstration, that all animals as well human as others, are now first in an animalcule state in the bodies of their immediate producers, before they issue into visibility, and so, likewise, are all vegetables in a state of farina before they attain such degrees of perfection as to become clear and distinct objects of sense. The bodies of the animal kinds being as so many sorts of soil into which the animalcule, as seed, are sown, in which they take root and are nourished for a time, till they arrive at the perfections assigned them there, and are fitted for transplantation into another soil, wherein they attain their full stature and strength, and answer the ends proposed by the Creator, in perpetual succession. And in like manner, it is with vegetables after their kinds. They are first in a farinal state in those plants which contain them, and they issue thence in their blossoms and flowers; and attaining their proper aptitude in that condition, they then descend into their several germini, vagina, and stamina, gradually, as by so many stations, until they attain to the state of seeds after their various species, which are as plants wrapped up in pelicles, now capable of taking root in the earth, and imbibing the water, and the various chemical substances therein contained. They are thereby, and by the action of the sun and atmosphere, expanded and sending forth their tender roots, they attract their first nutriment more powerfully, as likewise the minute particles of the pre-existing inert earth, originally congenial to themselves, whereby they then also continue to proceed to their perfections for their several uses and ends, in perpetual succession and decline gradually, as all animals, and resign their bodies at last into the earth from whence they were borrowed, and used for a time. So that there is a perpetual revolution of all things, but no proper annihilation of any, save only of form but not of substance.

'But, leaving this, I proceed a little upon another and more material subject. The present posture of affairs in Europe and the western parts of Asia, among the Turks and Christians, seem to tend to some general Revolution, which the instru-

ments thereof do not see or understand. For the minds of mankind are generally under some uncommon dissatisfactions and agitations, but of very different kinds and to various ends; the princes thirsting after absolute power over their subjects, and France over the whole, of which that seems more likely now to prevail than heretofore, by a fresh and close alliance with Spain, being all of one house, and intermeddling in the affairs of all others, making herself as common arbitrator, whether requested or not, and taking advantage of every accident to add to her own power and the extent of her dominions. Of this the other powers, especially the Protestant, being fully apprized, seem ready to enter into some new confederacy for their common safety, and though some seem to abandon all religion as only the invention of priests for their own ends, and in concert with princes to supplant the rest of mankind and rule over them all, yet one may with some pleasure observe the sober concern that many of all sects are under in matters of religion, which generally tends to the acknowledgment of an inward principle and work; not excepting some Jews here in London, of whom I heard yesterday, that some of the more considerable sort among them having lately had some business with a Friend (from whom I had the account), after their matters were settled, desired to have some conversation with him concerning religion, in which they told him that they (that is, many of the Jews) are weary of their own ceremonies as mere empty shows of no value, and have been looking into all the books of controversy among the Christians they can find, to see which of the sects and their principles appear most like real religion, which they agree is only in the mind, and is spiritual. In the end, one of the most eminent among all of that sect in England, declared that if he should leave his religion and embrace Christianity in any form, it should be that of the Quakers, for he did not see anything like real religion in any other sect.

'And again, that continued zeal and concern among the Germans which thou hast heard of, may contribute a good part towards the advancement of religion. And among the young men at Oxford and Cambridge, called Methodists, some of

whom who appear publicly as preachers, are very much followed and by many approved, but their brethren the clergy do not only now refuse them their pulpits, but begin to revile them as enthusiasts, indeed to stir up persecution against them by the Government. However, the most noted of them (Whitfield) is still preaching, sometimes to prisoners in the jails, and in the fields and houses to multitudes of people who seem much to admire him, as likewise another of the same in Yorkshire, who has been into Germany to see that people there, and I hear has a very good opinion of them as a spiritual-minded and innocent people. And here and there, we have some fresh movings among us, divers young persons of both sexes, here and in the country in several places, lately appearing [speaking] in our meetings in public, and are hopeful, with some in other parts lately convinced. So that upon the whole it looks like a fresh spring coming on, by those buds, sprouts, and blossoms, in so many places and forms, which, may the great and good husbandman further cultivate to his own glory and the completion of the salvation of mankind.

'I may have tired thee by this time, and therefore shall only add, that things are at present pretty peaceable here among us. Desiring to hear from thee at thy leisure, with love to thyself, family, and relations, I conclude, and am thy sincere friend, 'THOMAS STORY.'

THOMAS STORY TO JAMES LOGAN.

'LONDON, 12*th Month*, 8*th*, 1738.

'RESPECTED FRIEND,—I am much obliged by thine of the 19th 9ber, which I take this opportunity to acknowledge, and it gives me a sensible satisfaction thou took so much notice of that little collection [of sermons], as to cause it to be read in thy family with approbation. And I must confess to the honour of our Creator, his great goodness in giving and preserving my strength of body and mind unto this age, through so many and various vicissitudes of life, personal dangers, fatigues, troubles, and exercises; all which, in his Divine wisdom, he hath ordered or turned to my good, preserving me in charity and good-will to all mankind through many provocations, to

human nature, in which, in point of time, I may be about ten years before thee; but many more short with respect to acquirements, for which I never had suitable opportunity, or time, if capacity; but have this only to say, that by the grace of God I am what I am. But thy natural decays hinted at gives me some concern, considering how useful thou might yet be in the world, thine being no great age, in setting some things in a more lucid view, now, when kind Providence affords thee, as I suppose, a little more leisure from those labours of another kind [which] thou wast thoroughly fitted for; and yet a more constant retirement may afford a recruit unexpected, which I could heartily wish as not impossible, though we ought to resign ourselves and our friends in all things to the Divine will.

'As to anything that looked like controversy between us, I never meant any. What happened was only occasional. I only intended to support, or, as far as I could, to illustrate that great and fundamental truth, that there is in man, though not of man, or essential to him as a creature, a Divine intelligencer and conductor, which, if believed and followed, will lead and guide into all truth necessary to mankind in their several stations here, and in the end to complete happiness. And, without doubt, is the same thing intended and meant in thine, where thou sayst, 'I shall here say, that that gift or grace, whatever it be, or however men may agree or disagree in explaining it, is the *only source* of true happiness attainable in this life, and that the *only* path that will lead to the true and real enjoyment of it is that of humility, and a sincere charity, without which all profession of religion is empty show, and no better than hypocrisy, however attended with zeal, or the appearances of a fervent devotion, and as in this we undoubtedly agree, I am sure we are safe in leaving it there.' To which I readily subscribe, since, 'the gift or grace of God is the *only source* of true happiness attainable in this life,' &c. And the gift and receiver are not the same till united by the efficiency of Divine wisdom and power. I therefore rest satisfied on this point.

'*As to what I* have written as a comment upon thy *Charge*,

and on that occasion a short hypothesis concerning the commencement of inert matter, in order to the establishment of the present state of things, I did fully intend to send it according to the expectation given in my former, but was hindered by going into Yorkshire last summer, where I spent some months, especially at Scarborough, during the season, attending the meetings, at whose high cliffs, and the great varieties of strata therein, and their present positions, I further learned, and was confirmed in some things; and that the earth is of much older date, as to the beginning of it, than the time assigned in the Holy Scriptures, *as commonly understood*, which is suited to the common capacities of human kind, as to six days' progressive work, by which I understand certain long and competent periods of time, and not natural days, the time of the commencement and finishing of all those great works being undiscoverable by the mind of man, and hid in that short period, 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' And then the author goes on to set forth the further modifications of the terraqueous globe; and, I conjecture, very long after it had its being with the rest of the worlds.

'But staying so long in the country, and some time at York, where were taken in shorthand some things I spoke in the meetings, the others being much more spread in those parts than I was aware of, and being engaged in other matters ever since my return, I have not had any time to transcribe what I wrote on that subject; but intend to go upon it in a day or two, though I doubt I cannot finish it so as to send it by this opportunity, it containing thirty pages in quarto, and having to do everything of this sort with my own hands.

'I am obliged to thee for the hint about the word animalcule. It may not be properly adapted to the subject; but is the best I yet have in things so unusual and hard to be expressed in any terms known to me; and yet, peradventure, when thou hast seen the whole, it may do; but shall be still more obliged by thy correcting it, and helping me to more appropriate terms where not fully so. This notion is not altogether new to myself, unless conceiving it in my own mind, and not from any other, may be called new, for I have had it in my thought

some years; but never put it in writing till on this occasion; but it may be new to all others. What I mean is, that all inert matter was generally animated, consisting of innumerable animalculæ and farinæ, *before the worlds were made of it*; and I do not doubt but to bring it to thy understanding, at least that it may be the most probable way to account for the beginning of *inert matter*; and, well understood, may bring out many more truths yet undiscovered in nature; and I apprehend that the Creator of all things never made anything dead in its first procedure from him, but living.

'Dr. Clark is a Friend, a young man of good understanding, brought up under the famous Boerhaave, and has practised physic some years in London. I showed the hypothesis likewise to Dr. Fothergill, now going to Leyden for improvement; and he made some objections, which I have answered, whereby some things are made plainer. For as it appears to the rational man, that God *is* by referring back from the creation to the Creator, even so by tracing the works of nature from their present state and manner of working backward, we may thereby the better perceive the manner of her procedure, from her fountain and origin, the peradventured mode to perfection in every particular.

'I am obliged by the salutation of my good friends—thy wife and daughters. My love salutes them, and likewise thyself. I am thine and their sincere friend, 'THOMAS STORY.'

James Logan was the intimate friend of John Bartram,*

* John Bartram, who was a Pennsylvanian Quaker, established the first botanic garden in America, and, in pursuit of his favourite study, performed numerous journeys, with unwearied vigour and dauntless courage, amongst the fiercest and most jealous Indian tribes. Graham, in his *History of the United States*, after enumerating various individuals by whom the sciences of botany and zoology were cultivated with ardour and success, says, 'but by none with greater genius and celebrity than John Bartram. He carried on an extensive correspondence with Linnæus, Gronovius, Fothergill, Dillenius, Miller, Sir Hans Sloane, and the most eminent naturalists in Europe, was elected a member of the Royal Societies of London and Stockholm, and a Professor of botany in the university of Pennsylvania. The Royal Society of Edinburgh presented him with a gold medal, and before his death he received the appointment of American botanist to the King of England. For further particulars respecting this naturalist, *see Select Miscellanies*, vol. ii., 105–108; and iv. 178–202.

the great American naturalist, whom Linnæus pronounced to be the greatest botanist in the world. Of their correspondence, however, I have only met with the following, written about the year 1736; from

JAMES LOGAN TO JOHN BARTRAM.

'FRIEND JOHN BARTRAM,—Last night, in the twilight, I received the inclosed, and opened it by mistake. Last year, Peter Collinson * sent me some tables, which I never examined till since I last saw thee. They are six very large sheets, in which the author [Linnæus] digests all the productions of nature in classes. Two of them he bestows on the inanimate, as stones, minerals, earths; two more on vegetables, and the other two on animals. His method in the vegetables is altogether new, for he takes all his distinctions from the *stamina* and the *styles*. He ranges them under those of one stamen, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 20, and then of many stamens.

* Peter Collinson, F.R.S. and F.S.A., one of the earliest and most constant correspondents of Linnæus, was highly distinguished in the circle of naturalists and antiquaries in London, for nearly half a century. He was a Friend; and his upright, benevolent, active character, did honour to his religious persuasion. He was born in London, in 1693–4, and acquired an ample fortune in his business of a wholesale woollen draper. He devoted a considerable portion of his time to scientific pursuits, especially the study of botany. The English gardens are indebted to him for the introduction of many new and curious species of plants, which he acquired by means of an extensive correspondence, particularly from North America. Among these was the *Collinsonia Canadensis*, so called by Linnæus, who has given a beautiful engraving of this plant, in his *Hortus Cliffortianus*. It was first sent over by John Bartram, in 1735, the latter being in constant correspondence with Peter Collinson. The memorials of John Bartram, recently published at Philadelphia, contain upwards of 120 letters from Peter Collinson, chiefly on botanical subjects. He enjoyed, throughout a long life, the communications of most cultivators of science in general, for he interested himself about every new or useful discovery, and was one of the first who attended to the then recent wonders of electricity; on which subject the great Franklin was obliged to him for the earliest European intelligence. Nor was his personal friendship less valued by people of distinguished character and abilities in various ranks, among which the names of Derham, Sloane, Ellis, and Fothergill, stand pre-eminent; as well as those of the accomplished Robert Lord Petre, who died in 1742; and the famous Earl of Bute. He died in 1768, after a short illness, aged 75, in the full possession of his faculties, and of all his enthusiasm for the beauties of nature, attended by far more important consolations and supports.

The *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Archæologia* are enriched with several of Collinson's papers. Dr. Fothergill published an account of his life.

He further distinguishes by the styles, and has many heads, under which he reduces all the known plants.

'The performance is very curious, and at this time worth thy notice. I would send it to thee, but being in Latin, it will want some explanation, which, after I have given thee, thou wilt, I believe, be fully able to deal with it thyself, since thou generally knows the names of plants. If thou wilt step to town to-morrow, thou wilt find me there with them, at E. Shippen's, or J. Pemberton's, from 12 to 3. I want also to say something further to thee, on microscopical observations.—Thy real friend, JAMES LOGAN.'

Logan instituted a series of experiments respecting the impregnation of the seeds of maize, some of which he describes with observations arising therefrom, in support of the Linnæan doctrine of the sexes of plants, in a letter to Peter Collinson, dated Philadelphia, November 20, 1735, as recorded in *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xxxix. pp. 192–195; under the following title:—

'SOME EXPERIMENTS CONCERNING THE IMPREGNATION OF THE SEEDS OF PLANTS.

'As the notion of a male seed, or the *Farina fecundans*, in vegetables is now very common, I shall not trouble thee with any observations concerning it, but such as may have some tendency to what I have to mention.—And, first, I find from Miller's *Dictionary* that *M. Geoffroy*, a name I think of repute among *naturalists*, from the experiments he made on *maize*, was of opinion that seeds may grow up to their full size, and appear perfect to the eye, without being impregnated by the *farina*; which possibly, for aught I know, may in some cases be true, for there is no end to varieties in nature; but, in the subject he has mentioned, I have reason to believe it is otherwise, and that he did not apply all the care that was requisite in the management.

'When I first met with the notion of this male seed it was in winter time, when I could do no more than think of it; but in the spring I resolved to make some experiments on the *maize* or *Indian corn*. In each corner of my garden, which is forty feet in breadth, and near eighty in length, I planted a

hill of that corn, and, watching the plants when they grew up to a proper height, and were pushing out both the tassels above, and the ears below; from one of these hills I cut off the whole tassels, on others I carefully opened the ends of the ears, and from some of them I cut or pinched off all the silken filaments; from others I took about half, from others one-fourth and three-fourths, &c., with some variety, noting the heads, and the quantity taken from each. Other heads, again, I tied up at their ends, just before the silk was putting out, with fine muslin [chiefly] the fuggiest or most nappy I could find, to prevent the passage of the *farina*, but [yet so as to] obstruct neither sun, air, or rain. I fastened it also so loosely as not to give the least check to vegetation.

'The consequence of which was this, that, of the five or six ears on the first hill, from which I had taken all the tassels (from whence proceeds the *farina*,) there was only one that had so much as a single grain in it, and in about four hundred and eighty cells, there were only about twenty or twenty-one grains. The heads, or ears, as they stood on the plant, looked as well to the eye as any other, they were of their proper length, the cores of their full size, but to the touch, for want of the grain, they felt light and yielding. On the core, when divested of the leaves that cover it, the beds of seed were in their ranges, with only a dry skin on each.

'In the ears of the other hills, from which I had taken all the silk, and in those I had covered with muslin, there was not so much as one maturely-grown grain, nor other than I have mentioned in the first; but in all the others, in which I had left part and taken part of the silk, there was in each the exact proportion of full grains, according to the quantity or number of the filaments I had left on them. And, for the few grains I found on one head on the first hill, I immediately accounted thus:—That head or ear was very large, and stood prominent from the plant, pointing with its silk westward, directly towards the next hill of *Indian* corn; and the *farina*, I know, when very ripe, on shaking the stalk, will fly off in the finest dust, somewhat like smoke. I, therefore, with good reason, judged that a westerly wind had wafted some few of

these particles from the other hill, which had lighted on the stiles of this ear, in a situation perfectly well fitted to receive them, which none of the ears on the other hill had. And, indeed, I am surprised there were not more in the same ear than I found impregnated in a similar manner.

'As I was very exact in the experiment, and curious enough in my observations, and this, as I have related it, is truly fact, I think it may reasonably be allowed that, notwithstanding what *M. Geoffroy* may have related of his trials on the same plant, I am positive by my experiments on these heads;—that the silk was taken quite away, and those that were covered with muslins, none of the grains will grow up to their size when prevented of receiving the *farina* to impregnate them, but appear, when the ears of corn are disclosed, with all the beds of the seeds, or grain, in their ranges, with only a dry skin on each, about the same size as when the little tender ears appear filled with milky juice, before it puts forth its silk. Though the few grains that had grown on the single ear were as full and as fair as any I had seen, the places of all the rest had only dry, empty pellicles, as I have described them; and I much question whether the same does not hold generally in the whole course of vegetation, though, agreeable to what I had first hinted, it may not be safe to pronounce absolutely upon it, without a great variety of experiments on different subjects. But I believe there are few plants that will afford so fine an opportunity of observing on them as the *maize* or our *Indian corn*, because its stiles may be taken off or left on the ear in any proportion, and the grains be afterwards numbered in the manner I have mentioned.'

Logan's experiments upon maize, entitled *Experimenta de Meletemata de plantarum generatione*, were afterwards published in Latin at Leyden, in 1739, and at London in Latin, by Dr. Fothergill, with an English version on the opposite pages, in 1747. The experiments and observations detailed in this Essay, were admirably illustrative of the Linnæan doctrine of the sexes of plants; and amply demonstrate the capacity of the author for successful philosophical research.

In corroboration of the experiments previously made on maize by James Logan, Bartram, at the request of some naturalists of Europe, instituted and satisfactorily conducted a series of experiments on the Lychnis Dioica, illustrative of the doctrine of the sexes of plants. Dr. Darlington, in his memoirs of Bartram and Marshall, says, that he had himself the 'satisfaction, in the summer of 1805, of repeating, with complete success, the Loganian experiments upon the Indian corn.' He observes, 'The observations of James Logan upon the *Pollen granis*, their figure, function, &c., are very remarkable for that day.' After stating that Samuel Morland, about the year 1696, had asserted that the *farina*, or minute pollen grains, entered the ovary through the canal of the style, he adds, 'Ego quidem semel in medis unius ex supra memoratis stylis frumenti *Indici* granulum conspexi; nec dubitandum reor, quin exquisitiore adhibita diligentia, in iis delabentia facile deprehendantur.' Which is thus rendered by Dr. Fothergill, 'I once saw a small grain in the middle of this canal; nor is it to be doubted, but that stricter inquiries will discover more of them passing the same way.'

The two following extracts from letters from James Logan to the President of the Royal Society, Sir Hans Sloane, Bart., dated Philadelphia, 1735, occur in the 39th vol. of the *Transactions of the Philosophical Society*.

'ON THE CROOKED AND ANGULAR APPEARANCE OF THE STREAKS OR DARTS OF LIGHTNING IN THUNDER-STORMS.

'I SHALL crave thy indulgence further, to add that, looking into the second volume of that ingenious gentleman, Stephen Hales's *Statics*, of which I have lately happened to have a cursory view, I observed him to mention that phenomenon of the streaks or darts of lightning in thunder-storms appearing crooked and angular (I do not remember his words) as a thing not yet accounted for, and therefore he guessed at a solution of it.*

* The following is Hales's definition of the cause of zig-zag appearances of the electric fluid :—

'The clouds are generally distinct collections of vapours, like fleeces, and therefore the rays of light through them must pass through very different densities, and, accordingly, suffer very great refractions. From thence, therefore, undoubtedly that appearance must arise. For it is most highly absurd to imagine that fire, darted with such a rapidity, can, from any assignable cause, deviate in fact from a right line, in the manner it appears to us. And this, if duly considered, may probably be found a plenary solution.'

'SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE SUN AND MOON, WHEN NEAR THE HORIZON, APPEARING LARGER THAN WHEN NEAR THE ZENITH.

'IT may, perhaps, be needless now to add anything in confirmation of Dr. Wallis's solution (*see Transactions*, No. 187) of the sun and moon's appearing so much larger at rising or setting than when in a greater altitude, though some have very absurdly accounted for it from vapours, which I remember was given out in my youth for the true cause of it. It is true, indeed, that it is these vapours or the atmosphere alone that make these bodies, when very near to the horizon, appear in a spheroidal form, by refracting, and thereby raising (to sight) the lower limb more than the upper, yet these can be no cause of the other. The sun and moon, each subtending about half a degree, appear in the meridian of the breadth of eight or ten inches, to some eyes more, and to others less, and in the horizon to be two or three feet, more or less, according to the extent of ground they are seen over. But if one can have an opportunity, as I have here frequently had, of seeing

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'15. That the crooked dartings of lightning are not owing to its following a train of sulphurous vapours in the air is probable hence, viz., that if a large vial, which has all its air exhausted, be struck on its side with the palm of the hand, there will issue thence pale, livid, pointed, and crooked flames, four, five, or six inches long, which crookedness cannot in this case be attributed to a train of sulphurous vapours, for the same event will happen let the vial be struck ever so often, whether it continues in the same place or be removed. The *impetus*, therefore, of lightning seems to be given it at or near the first explosion of the sulphurous vapours, its force being more or less in proportion to the quantity of those vapours, which are at once enkindled.'—Stephen Hales's *Statical Essays*, vol. ii. p. 291.

the sun rise or set over a small eminence, at the distance of a mile or two, with tall trees on it standing pretty close, as is usual in woods without underwood, his body will then appear to be ten or twelve feet in breadth, according to the distance and circumstances of the trees he is seen through; and, where there has been some thin underwood, or a few saplings, I have observed that the sun setting red has appeared through them like a large extensive flame, as if some house were on fire beyond them. Now the reason of this is obvious, viz., that, being well acquainted with trees, the ideas of the space they take up are in a manner fixed, and as one of those trees subtends an angle at the eye, perhaps not exceeding two or three seconds, and would scarce be distinguishable were it not for the strong light behind them, the sun's diameter of above thirty minutes takes in several of them, and therefore will be judged vastly larger. Hence, it is evident that those bodies appear greater or less according to the objects interposed, or taken in by the eye on viewing them. And to this only is that phenomenon to be imputed.

'I am sensible this method is not new, yet the observations here given may probably tend to illustrate the case beyond what has hitherto been advanced on the subject.'

James Logan, it has been observed, was the patron of Thomas Godfrey, the inventor of the Quadrant. The latter was born near Germantown, in 1704. His taste for mathematical science occurred at an early period, from a chance opportunity of reading a book on that study. Finding the subject perplexed with Latin terms, he applied himself to that language with such diligence, as to be able to read Newton's *Principia* in its original purity, and other occasional Latin he met with. Optics and astronomy became his favourite studies, and the exercise of his thoughts led him on to conceive at length the instrument which should enlarge his fame. His trade was that of a painter and glazier, and whilst engaged at this business, on the premises of James Logan, at Stenton, accidentally observing a piece of fallen glass, an idea presented to his reflecting mind, which caused him to leave his work

and go into Logan's library, where he took down a volume of Newton. James Logan entering at this time, and seeing the book in his hand, inquired into the motive of his search, when he was exceedingly pleased with Godfrey's ingenuity, and from that time became his zealous friend. He procured for him a skilful person to try his quadrant at sea; and finding it fully answered every wish, he endeavoured to serve him by writing to his friends in England, especially to Sir Hans Sloane, to obtain for him a reward offered by the Royal Society. This was intended to be a measure in opposition to the claim of Hadley. The latter, it was supposed, had obtained the description of the instrument from his nephew, who, it was recollected, had seen it in the West Indies. Such is the tradition of the matter in the Logan family, as preserved by Deborah Logan. James Logan asserts, in a letter to one of his friends, that Godfrey's discovery was two years prior to Hadley's. 'Joshua Fisher of Lewistown,' he writes, 'afterwards of Philadelphia, a merchant, first tried the quadrant in the Bay of Delaware.' Afterwards Capt. Wright carried it to Jamaica, where, unsuspicious of piracy, he showed and explained it to several Englishmen, among whom was a nephew of Hadley's.

In 1734, Logan drew up a paper, which he communicated to the Royal Society, entitled, *An Account of Thomas Godfrey's Improvement of Davis's Quadrant, transferred to the Mariner's Bow.*'

The object of this Paper was to introduce the inventor and his invention to the favourable notice and attention of the Royal Society. Godfrey, it appears, communicated a description, of his own drawing up, to the Royal Society, and it was read before it, at one of its meetings in the winter of 1733–34; but, from some cause, it does not appear to have received the consideration it demanded. Possibly, owing to defects in the style of description, and the want of clear technical elucidation, the learned heads of that august body deemed it below their calibre. Some gentlemen, however, thought it would be attractable if described scientifically, and Logan

undertook the task. In a letter to Dr. Halley, he introduced this person to his notice. Godfrey, possessed of an active and ingenious mind, had, under great difficulties, mastered the principles of astronomy and optics, as well as other parts of mathematical science. Having acquired the vehicles of intelligent inquiry, he turned his attention to the character and applicability of the instruments in use in navigation; especially to the 'reflecting instrument by Speculum.' Davis's quadrant was in use, but exclusively, among British mariners. An observation by it required to be made in moderate weather, with comparatively smooth seas and a clear sky, the sun also not too high. With these preliminary requisitions observations are not always attended; hence Logan was convinced that if this invention was brought into general use, navigation would acquire an auxiliary worthy the attention of the nautical world, he therefore the more readily drew up this paper; considering that if the Royal Society were but in possession of the particulars, their recognition of the merits of the invention would excite public patronage, and lead to its speedy and general adoption.

Further particulars on this subject may be found in Bradford's *American Magazine*, July, 1758, and in Watson's MS. *Annals*, p.566. Wharton, in his *Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania*, preserved in the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, declares that Godfrey having to contend for the invention of his quadrant against 'an Englishman of some distinction, the reward which Logan hoped one day would be realized, never came;' alluding to Hadley, no doubt. He passed to the grave at an early age, in neglect and poverty, leaving a son behind him of the same name, who was distinguished as a child of song. He was buried on his farm, where the gravestones of some of the family remained till recently. Watson gives an inscription from one, of which the following is a portion:—

'Here lyeth the body of Joseph,
Son of Thomas and Frances Godfrey,
Aged 32 years; who died the
14th of 2d Month, in the year 1705.

Amongst other literary productions of James Logan was a Latin work, entitled, *Demonstrationes de Rudiorum Lucis in Superfices Sphericas—Auctore Jacobo Logan, Judice Supremoet Præside Concilii Provinciæ Pennsylvaniensis in America.* And in 1739 he published another Latin treatise, at Leyden, entitled, *Canonum pro inveniendis refractionum, tum simplicium, tum in lentibus duplicium focis, demonstrationes geometricæ. Auctore Jacobo Logan, Judice Supremoet Præside Provinciæ Pennsylvaniensis in America.*

THOMAS STORY TO JAMES LOGAN.

'LONDON, *12th Month, 26th*, 1740.

'ESTEEMED FRIEND, JAMES LOGAN,—Thy favour of the 8th of 9ber last is before me, by which I am obliged, and the more so considering thy circumstances and necessary attachments to affairs of greater moment than the subjects of our correspondence are, being matters of friendship and speculation, for mutual exercise and satisfaction, on occasional and agreeable subjects, and therefore thy own time shall be mine in returning anything to any speculative parts I have written. Only if business of moment might have permitted, I could have been glad of a fuller and more explicit liberty to publish my comment upon thy Charge than I apprehend I yet have.

'As to the public concerns of Pennsylvania, I perceive they are in a perplexed condition, as are all the nations in the world of the Christian name, and some others, at this day, which seems to portend that Heaven is displeased with us mortals, of all ranks and names, for our apostacy and transgressions, which doubtless are great, numerous, and provoking; and I am of the same thought with thee that "there seems to be a scourge prepared for us, and I fear will be heavily laid on," but hope not without mercy. And by what nation or means it may come does not become me to inquire, only as I cannot see that France is more righteous and innocent than any of the rest of the nations, neither do I see why that should be preparing as a scourge for the whole, exclusive only of its own correction, which in all appearance is not behind the worst in iniquity. I rather conjecture they may be as potsherds of the

earth, dashed to pieces one upon another, with such other additional corrections as may please the Creator, Governor, and Judge of the world in judgment and mercy to inflict, as famine, pestilence, and the like; yet let us, as his people, trust in God, repenting, where yet needful, with a free and humble resignation to his will, which is our duty and our safest way.

'The death of the late emperor [?] seems to have broken the strata of all the measures in Europe, and nothing appears anywhere but preparations for war, as if the trumpet were sounding to summon all the various beasts of the forest, and the carnivorous fowls of the air, to the great feast, where the flesh of kings, and of princes, and of captains, and of all that dwell upon the earth, are to be their prey and repast.

'And as to the King of Prussia in particular, the sudden and unexpected eruption he has made from his own kingdom and his invasion of Silesia is quite romantic, a paradox and a puzzle to all the politicians in Christendom; nor can they so much as guess at his meaning, since many suppose all Europe is against him, as the first public breaker of the peace of the whole, save Great Britain and Spain (which affects themselves chiefly, and not the general), but it is reasonably probable that a few months more will unriddle the whole.

'But now, in more particular manner, to the concerns of Pennsylvania, I have seen (and heard of) very differing accounts as to the state of your case, but believe the printed notes of the Assembly, thy own letter, and one from my good friend Israel Pemberton, to be the most genuine. Upon the whole, I cannot but think your Governor, in his works of supererogation, has aimed altogether at his own promotion, at the expense of both the civil and religious liberties and properties of the people there (and especially of your own). Yet he may be disappointed, for he seems to depend altogether upon the countenance he may imagine to have from the king, for his seeming zeal for his service; but if his zeal be only the effect of the manner of his education, in an imperious, arbitrary insult over a company of poor Negro slaves, unjustly enslaved in a little island in the West Indies, and himself (not the king) the real object of his management at bottom, he may be out

in his politics in thinking to enlist so great a monarch as the king of Great Britain to an approval of his conduct, who is well known to be opposed in sentiments and practice to all arbitrary sway in all his dominions, which is more reverse to the British constitution than to any under the sun. And to be more particular still, the people of Pennsylvania are possessed of a just and equitable constitution, established under the Crown of England, their principles, with respect to religion, being well known to the king before they came there. Nay, before the grant of that Charter which is the basis of all their laws and liberties, they relinquished their all in their native land, where they had, in their several degrees, equal privileges with other subjects; they removed, at personal and possessory hazards, into an uncultivated wilderness, for some reasons and advantages to themselves. They are blessed of Heaven in their industry, and governed in their managements from above, under a favourite of Heaven as a providential and instrumental head over them, and (subject to the Crown) he and they have power given them to make laws under a check by the Crown, for the better government of their affairs in civil rights, and a fundamental law in point of religion for liberty of conscience, in which God himself can and ought alone to rule. They are certain (as to themselves) that they ought not to learn war, bear arms, or fight, to hazard their own lives or the lives of mankind, as being inconsistent with the end of the coming of Christ, the nature of his kingdom, and the prime rectitude and end of human nature, and can therefore make no laws, so long as in the course of Providence the legislature is in their hands, either for levying men for war, training them to it, or paying them for destroying their own species who bear the image of their Creator; and yet (according to the example of the holy and Divine Head and Lawgiver), they can, and do (to prevent offences as much as may be as they are so stated), present their Sovereign a sum of money to be applied to the transportation of troops, raised in the Province, but not by their means, nor by any law established there, military or civil. Doth the king, therefore, by a military and arbitrary power, break in upon the civil constitution of this Province?

No. Only he requires his officers to beat a volunteer drum in the country, that all who are free men, and free agents, to such a number required, or thereabouts, may inlist themselves on a special emergency at the King's own expense of levying and pay, requiring no more of the Province but only the charges of their transportation to the place assigned and intended for their service. All this the legislature there under due and deliberate consideration perform, but their Governor, who, according to his office, ought to have been as a father, counsellor, and protector unto them against all (their lawful sovereign, who can do no injury, only excepted), without any other visible motive than the uncertain view of his own promotion there or elsewhere under the Crown, becomes the chief, if not only encourager of the needless enlisting of about as many of the bought servants of the country as the whole number demanded by the King, besides near twice the number more than required of servants and freemen volunteers, by which the charge of transportation might probably be doubled. The Assembly therefore being the representatives of the people, and warranted by the constitution and laws of their country, and invested with sufficient powers from thence, retrench so much of the money they had given to the Crown for transportation of the troops, as might be sufficient to recompense the loss of the country in their enlisted servants, supposing there was sufficient still of that money for the transportation of all the soldiers really required by the King and lawfully enlisted. What can the Governor do in this case to satisfy his resentments against the people of this Province, thus represented in Assembly and Legislature? Hath he any power, though will, to compel them to any compliance with his pleasure herein? None at all, but complains to the King and Council in Great Britain, against what they have done. What remedy can he have there? Only the King's frown and displeasure at worst, which with saving to their consciences with regard to the law of God therein, and the laws and liberties of the country they represent, as a solemn trust on that behalf they should be very careful not to incur. But if the King should be moved to resentment by any misrepresen-

tation of the case, by the Governor Gordon and any party he can make (which is not very likely he will) when rightly informed of the case, what can he lawfully do against them, according to the laws and fundamental constitution of Great Britain, which generally and necessarily obtain in all her plantations and dependencies? He can do nothing by any force but that of the laws, for that would be an infraction upon the constitution of the whole British Empire. But this may lawfully, though I think not prudently be done (considering the excellency of the constitution of that Province). By management, an Assembly of other sentiments and views may in time be procured, by whom the laws and constitution may be altered and lost, and the majority of the people there may possibly in time be so infatuated as to fetter and shackle themselves with forts, castles, guns, and swords, and inflame themselves by their own consent, yielding their liberties, properties, and consciences to the baser sort, who are ever ready to prey upon the better, more mild and innocent of mankind under the name of Kings and Princes, who commonly are too subject to the will and mercenary flatteries of parasites so stationed, and surrounded with the voracious men of war, who suggest to them glaring views of absolute power and uncontrollable sway, that the groans of the oppressed can rarely be heard, yet the rulers themselves being not so much to blame as their advisers, are generally the bulls of the resentments and curses of the people so used, and which sometimes terminates in a torrent of violence and rebellion, which never can happen when Quakers are the subjects. Or as the property of that Governmont now stated, the King may justly when he pleases, upon payment of what is due to the present proprietors and Governor of the Province, by agreement on record assume the Government upon himself, and depute who it may please him therein. How then will that alter the case in point of right with respect to the support and charge of Government? Not at all, for the property of the people will still be the same, and they may give or not give as in wisdom and duty, and to what ends they may choose to contribute, but ought always to be generous, full, and liberal, I think in sup-

port of all the useful and necessary ends of human rule, as an ordinance of God for the common safety and good of mankind. Nevertheless, seeing the legislative part of the Province hath hitherto been principled against war and fighting, they have done nobly in justly withstanding every attempt of a breach upon them that way, and having hitherto surrounded with the arms of a kind and beneficent Providence in all kinds of warfare and seeming danger, and suffered little or nothing for want of the arm of flesh, in which they have not confided, they will do well still to hold, as good stewards for him by whose good and overruling providence they were placed in that trust, till it may please the Author and Ruler of the universe, as a correction of the levity of that people in time to come, to suffer them to destroy their own liberties, and fetter and inflame themselves and the just also in that day under the common calamity.

And as to one of the present proprietors, who I hear hath deserted the Christian principles and friends of so good and wise a father (and should be heartily grieved if it prove true), he could purpose to himself no manner of advantage by it, if he were Governor under the King or the rest of the family, for the people being justly offended with his apostacy and the part he hath taken in the present controversy, it is not likely they would be very open-handed to him in that station, but for my own part if it was fit for me to consider myself at all in the affair, if I could be by appeal (indistinct in the MS.) at all it would be in the favour of that family (a few lines indistinct in the MS.), I may by this time have tired thee with reading this long scrawl as myself with writing it, and add only one short hint more, and that is that what relates to the [piece of land], I have written to thy son now, and so can conclude with love to thyself, my good friend S. L., and family, from thy and their sincere friend, THOMAS STORY.

So much were the services of James Logan esteemed, that he was solicited, in his 73rd year, again to resume the presidency of the province, which he declined, as appears from the following letter, written to Thomas Penn, in 1747:—

JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS PENN.

'I am surprised thou shouldst expect I would now, in my 73d year, undertake the presidency of the province, though much more valuable now than when I actually took it upon me, seeing that, in my 67th year, I assured thee, at thy leaving us, I never would accept of it, whatever happened; for, though I have lately been informed that the perquisites were now a full £1000 per annum of this money, and though I have not half the estate thou told me once thou wast informed I had, I am by no means covetous, though frugal enough; on the contrary, I am now bestowing the value of £1000 sterling in a library and building for it, to be kept for the public, besides £36 per annum for my librarian, and to purchase more books.

'Thou says, in thy second line, thou looks on me as a sort of relation to your family, and I thought I might well claim some pretence to it whilst thy brother John lived, though the real ties, more than a settled good will, were but small; for I had but a hundred a year of this currency of thy father, for all manner of service, with some perquisites, not sufficient to maintain me with a clerk and one horse. But I was successful in trade (especially in that most gainful one to Lisbon, while it lasted), from whence I had supplies entirely of my own. That (from going into that port, in my voyage thither, and thence into France, in the beginning of 1710) for above twenty of the succeeding years, I had not one farthing from any of your family, though I spent, in upwards of twenty-seven months (the time I was absent from this province), £250 sterling, beside what I laid out in books. After my return, in some time, succeeded the more profitable Indian trade, occasioned by the Indian war in Carolina; by which, for a deer skin, that cost here from 3*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* currency, I received, clear of all charges, 7*s.* sterling at least; by which the trustees, that is, your family, gained in a short time between £900 and £1000 sterling, beside considerable more afterwards; much more money than they would have had by my own bills of exchange, which alone I was ordered to remit. And if I had *done* this, and drawn on my own factor for payment of them, I should have had all the sum which I have mentioned, and considerably more beside;

for returning all which (in skins, and whatever else I could procure that would yield profit) I had only 4 per cent. for £10,000, Isaac Norris taking the other 1 per cent., depending entirely on my justice; for he never, after the first year, so much as looked into my accounts, but signed his name after mine, without writing one word, except one letter to Henry Gouldney and the trustees, by agreement with me, while I undertook to draw another of much greater importance to that voyage.

'And though you gave me, in 1724, 5000 acres of land, against your seat, I generously gave of it, on my arrival, 1000 to Andrew Hamilton, who I knew was going over, and might be serviceable to you there. I also gave to Susanna Wright 100, and sold to her father 200 acres more, of the very best of it, for £70; and for the 4000 acres I gave credit £400 sterling, while at the same time the commissioner's price for common lands was £10 currency; so that (at 50 per cent. exchange, at that time current) I paid £600, and, deducting £200 currency for the other 2000 acres in Lancaster county, I paid down, in 1724, £20 per hundred acres, on a truly just reckoning. Nor have I ever had a single foot of your land, except about a fiftieth part of one acre, to run a short fence straight, and give me some advantage of the water to my pasture that bounded on that run. The 500 acres in Bucks county was your father's gift, which he ordered to be a whole thousand, though I drew the warrant only for 500.

'But I must not impute this solely to myself, for I knew your father's unhappy circumstances, and truly commiserated them. I resolved when I left England, in 1711, to quit the whole business in two years' time. Yet, during his illness at Ruscombe, which soon after ensued, and your family's incumbrances during your suit, after your father's decease, it was no time to apply for money, especially when I wanted it not.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

Allusion is made, in the foregoing letter, to the small return which Logan received for his public services, which would have been inadequate indeed to his requirements, had he not

been able to realize additionally from commercial pursuits. When he was a young man, and secretary to Penn, he felt an indifference to money, and deemed this a happy retirement for cultivating the Christian graces; but after he had had some experience in life, finding how little respect and influence could be usefully exerted without such competency as could give man a ready access to good society, he thenceforward set himself seriously to endeavour, by engagements in commerce, to attain that consequence and weight which property so readily confers. He never had the wish to leave any large possessions to his posterity, from the belief that moderate fortunes were more beneficial legacies than large ones. It was probably from these views of moderate bequests to heirs, that he was so liberal as to bequeath his large library a legacy to his countrymen, rather than to his immediate heirs.

The following extract from Logan's will, dated at Philadelphia in 1749, about two years before his decease, affords a pleasing idea of the literary enthusiasm of the donor:—

'In my library, which I have left to the city of Philadelphia, for the facilitating and advancement of classical learning, are above one hundred volumes of authors, in folio, all in Greek, with mostly their versions; all the Roman classics, without exception; all the old Greek mathematicians, viz., Archimedes, Euclid, and Ptolemy, both his geography and almagest, which I had in Greek (with Theon's commentary in folio, above 700 pages) from my learned friend, Fabricius, who published fourteen volumes of his Greek *Bibliotheque* in 4to, in which, after he had finished his account of Ptolemy, on my inquiring of him at Hamburgh, in 1722, how I should find it, having long sought for it in vain in England, he sent it to me out of his own library, telling me it was scarce, that neither prayers nor price could purchase it. Besides, there are many of the most valuable Latin authors, and a great number of modern mathematicians, with all the three editions of Newton, Dr. Halley, Wallis, &c,

'I have built a library-room, and endowed it for ever with

£35 sterling per annum for a librarian; he to advance £18 yearly to buy books.

'The room, books, and salary, I cannot value at less than £2000, solely designed for the use of the public, in order to prevail on them (having such assistance) to acquaint themselves with literature. 'JAMES LOGAN.'

This library, which Logan generously bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia, for the use and benefit of all lovers of learning, is a lasting monument of his public spirit and benevolence. It consisted of 3000 volumes, which he had been fifty years in collecting, including the best editions of the best books in various languages, arts, and sciences; and was, at that time, the largest, and by far the most valuable collection of the kind in that part of the world.

In 1792, an Act of the Legislature was procured, vesting the Loganian library in the Library Company of Philadelphia; thus eventually merging the

Library Company of Philadelphia,
The Union Library of Philadelphia,
And the Loganian Library,

all three into one, *tria una in juncta.*

It is rather to be regretted that in this step the name of the generous donor of the Loganian library should be lost; but in the annals of his country his memory will ever be connected with the benefactors of his race. One of the public squares in Philadelphia bears his name; and in remembrance of him also, the Friends' college, near that city, or association in connection with it, has been called the Haverford Loganian society.*

* For some particulars of this Society, see in the *Friend*, 2d Month, 1851, p. 21, Haverford Revived, an Address read before a meeting of the Haverford Loganian Society, 9th Month, 13th, 1848, by Dr. HENRY HARTSHORNE, a former pupil and associate of that Institution. It contains an outline of the origin, gradual development, subsequent decay, and final restoration of an establishment, the object of whose founders was to provide the means of a superior, and, at the same time, a guarded education, for the rising youth of the Society of Friends in the United States.

We must now bring these *Memoirs* to a close. The portrait which accompanies them is from Watson's *Annals*, engraved from a family piece in the library he founded. 'In personal appearance,' says Watson, 'James Logan was tall and well-proportioned, with a graceful, yet grave demeanour. He had a good complexion, and was quite florid, even in old age; nor did his hair, which was brown, turn grey in the decline of life, nor his eyes require spectacles. According to the custom of the times, he wore a powdered wig.* His whole manner was dignified, so as to abash impertinence; yet he was kind, and strictly just in all the minor duties of acquaintance and society.' The portrait evinces fine mental calibre, with an expression of magnanimity and benignity of soul.

'As a man of learning,' adds Watson, 'Logan stood pre-eminent, his mind being turned to the love of science, and to its disciples wherever found.' The aborigines, whose concerns were consigned to his care by William Penn, paid an affecting tribute to his worth, when in his advanced age they entreated his attendance on their behalf at the treaty held at Philadelphia in 1742, as related at pp. 86, 87, where they publicly testified, by their Chief, Canassatego, their satisfaction for his services, and sense of his worth, calling him a wise and good man, and expressing their hope, that when his soul ascended to God, another just like him might be found, for the good of the province, and their benefit. He often had the Indians for his guests at Stenton, 300 or 400 of them at a time, for weeks together.

James Logan's active and useful career terminated only with his life, which occurred on the 31st of 10th Month, 1751, having just entered into the 77th year of his age. His remains were interred in the burial ground belonging to the Society of Friends in Arch Street, Philadelphia.

* In those days, wigs were generally worn by gentlemen; and even members of the Society of Friends, who professed to exclude all superfluities, adopted this mode of head dress, so essentially useless! In 1685, William Penn wrote from England to his steward, to allow his deputy-governor, Lloyd, the use of his wigs in his absence. A few years later, a Friend, in writing to London for some wearing apparel, says, 'I want, for myself, and my three sons, each, a wig—light, good bobbs.'

The worth of wise and virtuous men is inestimable, and their loss not easily repaired. It is to be regretted, that frequently their great value and importance are not sufficiently seen or appreciated till they are no more, when the community can no longer be benefitted by their presence and society.

> ——— 'Virtutem incolumen odimus;
> Subaltam ex oculis, querimus invidi.'—HORAT.

James Logan had several children who survived him. Of his eldest son, William, who was many years a member of the Governor's Council, the following notice occurs in the 2d edition of Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*:—

WILLIAM LOGAN, eldest son of James Logan, was born at the family seat, at Stenton. His education was conducted under the eye of his father, and completed in England. Commerce was selected as his profession, and, after the death of his father, he moved to Stenton, and devoted himself chiefly to agriculture.

He occupied a seat in the Provincial Council, and took a part in the passing public affairs. Like his father, he became at same time a warm friend of the Proprietary interests, and a decided protector of the Indian race. He received the Indians cordially at his place, gave the aged a settlement (called the Indian field) on his land, and educated their young at his own expense. When the fierce and inflamed spirits from Paxton sought the blood of the unoffending Indians, even to Philadelphia, he, notwithstanding his union with Friends, joined others in taking measures to defend their lives by force.

He travelled extensively in America, and his journal from Philadelphia to Georgia is still preserved; and might, if published, show a different state of society and country from what is now seen. During the revolutionary war he was in England. With the same spirit of his father, *he executed* the conveyance of the Loganian Library to the city of Philadelphia, as well as the estates, which have since served to augment the catalogue and the income.

A NOTICE OF GEORGE LOGAN, M.D., GRANDSON OF JAMES LOGAN; TAKEN FROM THE AMERICAN JOURNALS OF THE DAY.

George Logan, M.D., son of William, and grandson of James Logan, was born at Stenton, near Philadelphia, in 1755, and died there on the 9th of 4th Month, 1821, aged 66 years. He was sent to England for his education when very young, and, on his return, served an apprenticeship with a merchant of Philadelphia. He had early a great desire to study medicine, which he undertook after he had attained to the years of manhood. After spending three years at the medical school of Edinburgh, where he received the best education—classical and professional, he travelled through France, Italy, Germany, and Holland, under the best auspices, and returned to his own country in 1779.

Although he had completed his education, and had qualified himself in the fullest and most ample manner for the practice of medicine, for which he had a predilection, yet he never followed it; for, on coming home, he found the family estate at Stenton, after the dissolution of the revolutionary war, in such a situation as to require his undivided attention. He applied himself for some years to agricultural pursuits, in which he delighted; and the improved state of his farm, soon evinced the success of his experiments. He became an active member of the Agricultural and Philosophical Societies, and published experiments upon gypsum and the rotation of crops. His intervals of leisure were filled up with such studies as served to enlarge his capacities for usefulness to the public, and to fit him for the situations in which he afterwards appeared. Dr. Logan early acquired the friendship and confidence of the most distinguished and illustrious patriots of the American Independence. He served in the legislature of his country, and acted a distinguished part in the social and political world for a number of years, making great personal sacrifices, and obeying the impulses of the warmest and purest patriotic and philanthropic zeal for the public good.

In 6th Month, 1798, he embarked for Europe, for the purpose of preventing a war between France and America. For this step he was violently denounced by hostile political par-

tizans; but he persevered, and succeeded in his intentions. He was not only denounced by these political partizans, for his benevolent efforts on this occasion, but there was also an Act of Congress placed on the American statute book, palpably aimed at such interference, and which, it is too probable, originated in the resentful feelings of the administration and its supporters, towards the estimable citizen who planned and consummated that philanthropic movement. The Act referred to, was passed January 30, 1799, and prescribes a 'fine of 5000 dollars, and imprisonment, for citizens holding correspondence with foreign governments, or their agents, in order to influence their conduct in relation to the United States,' &c. It is remarkable that the dead letter of this obnoxious statute was raked up, in the United States senate, nearly half a century afterwards, by one of the 'democracy,' *par excellence*, with a view to apply its penalties to the worthy gentleman who humanely persisted in negociating a peace with unhappy, prostrate Mexico—even after his mission had been revoked by the administration which sent him, but which dared not reject the treaty thus concluded!

Dr. Logan was a senator from Pennsylvania, in the Congress of the United States, from 1801 to 1807. His career, as the representative of his native state in the senate of the union, his devotion to the cause of liberty, and of peace, his spontaneous visits to Europe, for the purpose of averting the calamities of war from his country, are remembered by many.

In 1810, he visited England—as formerly France—with the same philanthropic desire of preserving peace between the tw countries. Here, though he failed in effecting the good which he had so much at heart, yet his reception by men of the highest respectability of both parties, was highly flattering. He was exceedingly grieved at the war which followed. His health gradually declined for some years, and he died in 1821, as stated.

He has left behind him a character, which, if his friends and family could admit of any other than religious solace for their loss, would form a fruitful source of consolation.

Desponceau said of him, 'And art thou too gone? friend of

man! friend of peace! friend of science! Thou whose persuasive accents could still the angry passions of the rulers of men, and dispose their minds to listen to the voice of reason and justice.'

NOTICE OF DEBORAH, WIFE OF GEORGE LOGAN, M.D., FROM THE AMERICAN JOURNALS OF THE DAY.

Deborah Logan, relict of Dr. George Logan, outlived her husband eighteen years; she died the 2nd of 2nd Month, 1839, at the family seat at Stenton, in the 78th year of her age, and was interred in the enclosure on the farm, attended by numerous friends and neighbours, who evinced much affectionate regard and esteem on the occasion. The honourably-distinguished and pious Deborah Logan was the honour of her husband, an ornament of society, and an example of the Christian graces. Rarely is the pen of friendship called upon to record the departure of so much excellence, as this extraordinary woman united in her character. She was remarkably gifted, and endowed with the spirit of the gospel which breathes peace on earth, and good-will to men. She was indeed a mother in Israel and in the church, and the solemnity and ingathering of her spirit might frequently be witnessed when at the footstool of Divine mercy. She was a blessing in her family, and among her friends, and in the neighbourhood where she lived. She opened her mouth with wisdom, and on her tongue was the law of kindness, and although usefully engaged in religious and literary pursuits, she was remarkably attentive to the domestic duties of life.

In the death of this estimable and extraordinary woman, her friends and acquaintances have sustained a loss which cannot be supplied. Fitted by her intellectual endowments to shine in every circle, her society was sought by individuals of all parties; by the old for the information she could impart, and by the young for her cheerfulness and suavity; the kindness of her welcome was conspicuous to all who approached her, and attested the interest which she felt in the whole human race. The eventful period of her early life found her associated in the circle of those whose lives, from patriotic

and virtuous motives, were devoted to the public good, and by these she was highly esteemed.

During the stormy political scenes of the Revolutionary War, she became acquainted with many whose names stand conspicuous in the history of the struggle for American independence, and her memory was stored with anecdotes relating to that interesting period. Most of the distinguished foreigners who visited Philadelphia shared her hospitality, and, perhaps, in no single instance did a visitor leave her mansion without being favourably impressed by her genuine politeness, and the suavity of her manners, which sprang from a heart fraught with kind and generous feelings to all. But those only who knew her well, and who witnessed in the domestic circle her fulfilment of every duty, could appreciate her character in all its excellence. She was a devoted wife, an affectionate mother, and a faithful friend. She did all things well; hospitable, and generous, and noble in all her feelings; she was, in all situations, the lady, and she was the Christian. Born a member of the religious Society of Friends, and cherishing its principles from a conviction of their truth, her life was marked by the exercise of the virtue to which they lead; and in her frequent intercourse with persons of every religious persuasion, she always maintained the dignity and simplicity of a Friend. A Quaker without sectarianism, she adorned her profession by a life marked by the purest principles of virtue and of truth. She was dignified without ostentation, and humble without servility.

She employed her leisure hours for a number of years in researches connected with the early history of Pennsylvania, and she is understood to have compiled, more especially from the papers of her husband's grandfather, James Logan, a curious and interesting account of the views of the great William Penn and his colleagues, regarding the settlement of his infant colony; its advantages, and the prospect it held out for the future exercise of liberty of conscience. Several thousand pages of original letters relating to the subject were copied by her, with remarks and annotations; and, it is presumed, that no individual had an equal knowledge of the character of those who founded the colony and its early history.

In that compilation will be found the correspondence of William Penn for a long series of years, together with letters from his wife, who took charge of the interests of her husband during his protracted sickness, and ordered the affairs of the Government with such soundness of judgment, and clearness of views, as indicated a high state of mental endowments.

Her writings upon other subjects are known to be extensive, which, strongly marked by her own gifted mind, are invaluable to her own immediate friends. Her manners possessed a peculiar winning grace and ease, strongly expressive of benevolence and polished politeness combined. Her ability to adapt herself to all circumstances, and to every occasion of life, shone in her actions with all the grace and purity of Christian love and gentleness, for she was deeply imbued with Christian affections and graces. To love such a lovely woman was instinctive in all who approached her; she was the delight of the young, and the beloved of the aged. Rarely, indeed, does it fall to the lot of humanity in old age to possess so many points of attraction, so many traits of loveliness and goodness, worthy to be admired in life, and fondly remembered in death.

That she was of a superior order of female excellence and intelligence, may be inferred from her fine talents as a composuist, both in prose and verse. Her modesty and unwillingness to meet the public gaze, did not allow her to come before the world in her proper name, but she has received the emphatic appellation of 'The female historian of Pennsylvania,' as due to her for the large collection of historical manuscripts which it was known she had compiled and elucidated. She delighted to live in the memory of the past, and her mind, therefore, was rich in the imagery of other times.

> 'You might have asked her, and she could have told
> How, step by step, her native place threw off
> Its rude colonial vestments, for the garb
> That cities wear.
> And she could give recitals of a race
> Now rooted up and perished. Many a date
> And legend slumbers in that ample breast,
> Which history coveted.'

In speaking of the recent departure of a Friend so exten-

sively known as Deborah Logan, the writer desires not to indulge in many remarks; yet, in justice to her well regulated mind, it may also be observed, she was such a rigid economist of time, as to accustom herself to rise often before the dawn of day, that her domestic duties might not be infringed upon by her literary pursuits. Much of the voluminous correspondence alluded to, was copied during those early hours too frequently given to repose. Thus she lived as one accountable for the talent lent; and when the undeniable messenger arrived, she died in that holy confidence which can alone sustain the mind at that most solemn period.

On the decease of Deborah Logan, a special meeting was called of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which was held at the Philosophical Hall. She was an associate of the society, and one of the members pronounced an oration on her worth. Several resolutions were passed expressive of their great loss, and the sympathy they felt for her mourning family. Two of the public libraries were closed on the occasion.

The following extract from a letter, omitted in the proper place, appears deserving of insertion in these *Memoirs*:—

JAMES LOGAN TO JOHN HOOP.

'*3d Month, 15th*, 1729.

'I FEAR thou wilt think me visionary, if I tell thee I have looked into many sciences and branches of knowledge, yet nothing has so exercised my thoughts, in all my disquisitions, as to find out some rational end for the formation of man, adequate or corresponding to that stupendous wisdom that appears in all those parts we call irrational, of the whole creation. Every part of every vegetable and animal production, in their order, texture, and beauty, evince a height of skill almost incomprehensible to the most elevated of our thoughts; while man himself, though the only visible creature, that we know, capable of considering or contemplating that beauty, is of all creatures the most irregular and disordered in his pursuits, the most wild and extravagant in his views. Every other animal aims at, and generally attains some certain end

for which it was informed. I cannot therefore but think, that the true end of man is the union of his soul with God, and that the possession of that enjoyment will yet break out with a greater degree of brightness than has hitherto been known, even in this life; so that the conduct of man, designed for the noblest of all visible creatures, may be consistent with that harmony and good order which is so delightfully surprising in the contemplation of the other sensible parts of the creation. Happy should I be, could I with these eyes see that day. But it is not to be expected. Babylon will yet be drunk, I doubt, with the blood of the saints; and after her cup is filled up to the brim, and indignation is poured out upon the nations, the glorious light will break forth, and advance with a force that is no longer to be resisted.

'JAMES LOGAN.'

The following religious reflections, from their intrinsic excellence, I have made the conclusion of these *Memoirs*. They are replete with instruction, and bear ample and beautiful testimony that the writer was a man of eminent piety:—

PAPER DRAWN UP BY JAMES LOGAN,

ADDRESSED 'TO MYSELF.'

'1st. Remember that thou art not of thy own production, but brought into this world by the Creator and supreme Lord of it; who being the only fountain of true wisdom and goodness, has certainly proposed some good and wise end in it. This end is his honour and thy happiness, through an exact obedience to his will, the standard of all order, and only rule for thy direction. Seeing, therefore, this is thy end, live not in vain, but make it thy only study to consecrate thy whole life to him; enter into covenant with him for ever to be his by service, whose thou art by creation. Remember always that thou art a servant to an Almighty Being, whose eye is ever upon thee in thy most secret retirements; who perpetually beholds thy actions, and can never be deceived; who by thy service proposes thy own true happiness as the reward of thy

obedience, and, if thou wilt be faithful to him, will never disappoint thee.

'2d. Remember that thou art by profession a Christian; that is, one who art called after the immaculate Lamb of God, who, by offering himself a sacrifice for thee, atoned for thy sins: and, by debasing himself to thy condition, has given thee the example of his own unspotted life to copy after. Clothe thyself, therefore, with his spirit, make him thy holy pattern, and do nothing unbecoming so great and glorious a title.

'3d. In the morning at thy rising, prostrate thyself before thy Great Master, who has led thee safe through the dark vale of the past night, as a servant ready and desirous to perform his holy will the following day. Wait on him in humility to know it. Pray to him with thankfulness for his past goodness, entreating him to make it farther manifest to thee, and to give thee strength diligently to execute it; devote thyself to his service; recommend thyself to his protection; remembering that without his assistance thy best endeavours can avail nothing. Call to mind the orbs that have once more rolled about. The advancing sun summons the creation to its wonted labours, the world prepares for its respective duties, and now there is a universal dressing; much pains is bestowed on this fading vehicle; do thou at least with no less care, adorn thy immortal soul with more permanent and solid beauties. The choristers of the air perform their matins to their Heavenly King. Do thou, as a more intelligent and enlightened mind, offer up thy morning sacrifice proportioned to the greater measure of grace imparted to thee. Suffer not the sun in winter at farthest, or the sixth hour in summer, to find thee, if in health, on thy pillow. Rouse with the more simple servants of nature, and, borrowing one hour from the sleep of sluggards, spend it in thy chamber in dressing thy soul with prayer and meditation, reading the Scriptures and good authors. Thrice happy those blessed moments, they will yield an immortal harvest of never failing treasures.

'4th. In the evening, before thou suffer sleep to invade thine eyes, recollect the actions of the past day, keeping, if possible, an exact account of all thy hours. Consider, then, how far,

and wherein thou hast swerved from thy morning resolutions (as too often thou wilt find thou hast). Pray earnestly and humbly for forgiveness, not only for all those slips, but for all the past sins and errors of thy life. . . . . Implore a greater degree of strength, from Him who alone can give it, both to help out thy natural infirmities, and guard thee against the snares of the soul's enemy. Thus anticipate the reckoning of the great and last day, and calming thy conscience in a true peace with thy God, to his Divine protection commit thyself, and, as if it were thy last sleep, compose thyself to rest.

'5th. As piety and virtue (that is, a true adoration of God, and the study and observance of the established order of the creation, according to the original laws prescribed to it by his will in its primitive purity, from which mankind is unhappily fallen), is to be the whole aim and business of this life, so remember that the same enemy that caused thy first parents to forfeit their blessed condition, notwithstanding the gate is now opened for a restoration, is perpetually using his whole endeavours to prevent thee from attaining this, and frustrate to thee the passion of thy Redeemer. His temptations are constantly working, his snares ready, and his attacks always preparing to batter thy soul, as thou too feelingly knows by dear experience: do thou therefore keep as constantly on thy guard, knowing that the life of a Christian is a continual warfare. Pray earnestly to the God of strength to support thee, recommend thyself frequently to his protection, clothe thyself with a firm faith and dependence on this as with the surest armour; in it alone repose thy confidence, and support thyself with cheerful and enlivening hopes, yet take care of heightening them to a security, for in that lies the greatest danger; it is a state not designed for this life.

'The church is militant here, but triumphant hereafter, there is no trophy without a warfare; every temptation, though afflictive at present, yet may be turned into a mercy. It is an opportunity given thee of conquering, and it is to the victor the crown is due. Constantly watch, therefore, against his assaults, whose study it is wholly to prevent thee from attaining it, and to plunge thee into utter ruin.

'6th. The heart is the work of sin as well as of grace; there first are formed the seeds of all thy actions as moral: first, therefore, labour to have that truly sanctified by God's Holy Spirit, and then endeavour to regulate all the thoughts and actions of thy mind by this reflection—What, if this thought was seen by men as well as my person and outward actions are? Could I justify it? Could I own it as mine without shame? and yet there is a much greater eye (who must also judge thee for it), that beholds thee. Let this constantly awe thee, and so study to correct thy thoughts, that if they were all to be delineated in one continued chain, and exposed again to thy view, and that of the world, thou shouldest have no cause to blush for them. Remember it is thy soul (and thought is the action of the soul), that is truly thee. Thy real essence is such, as by thought thou makes and dresses that soul; carefully banish every imagination, therefore, that has not a certain tendency to some good end of the creation, and suffer not thy heart or mind to become a theatre of empty vanities, instead of a holy tabernacle for the God of wisdom and purity to dwell in.'

JAMES LOGAN.

☞ *Parties possessing publications, MS. letters, or any information respecting James Logan, not contained in the foregoing pages, will oblige by communicating particulars of the same to the Compiler, addressed,*

WILSON ARMISTEAD,

WATER HALL, LEEDS.

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